The Land Speaks traces the narratives of landless communities, who have resisted forced removals and evictions since the late 80's. Rooted in the history of resistance the book explores community activism and campaigns, and traces the key moments that led to the establishment of the land justice movement that became the Southern Cape Against Removals (SCAR), and later the Support Centre for Land Change. Using personal accounts and stories of people at the forefront of the struggle for land, it traces the contours of their struggles, resistance, disappointments, and victories, towards land justice. The Support Centre for Land Change played a central role in building activism, supporting networks, and raising critical analysis of the ideologies that underpin government policies relating to land reform. The book also positions the centrality of women and the agency they wielded in their struggles for land and other resources. The Land Speaks casts into the spotlight the plight of people, living and working in the rural pockets of South Africa, and brings into focus the real ways in which people make sense of their land hunger, and their attempts to realise the ideal that "the land shall be shared by all those who live and work it".

SCLC

This book has been produced with the financial assistance of the below mentioned funding partners.

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THE LAND SPEAKS

THE LAND SPEAKS

SUPPORT CENTRE FOR LAND CHANGE (SCLC)

SCLC

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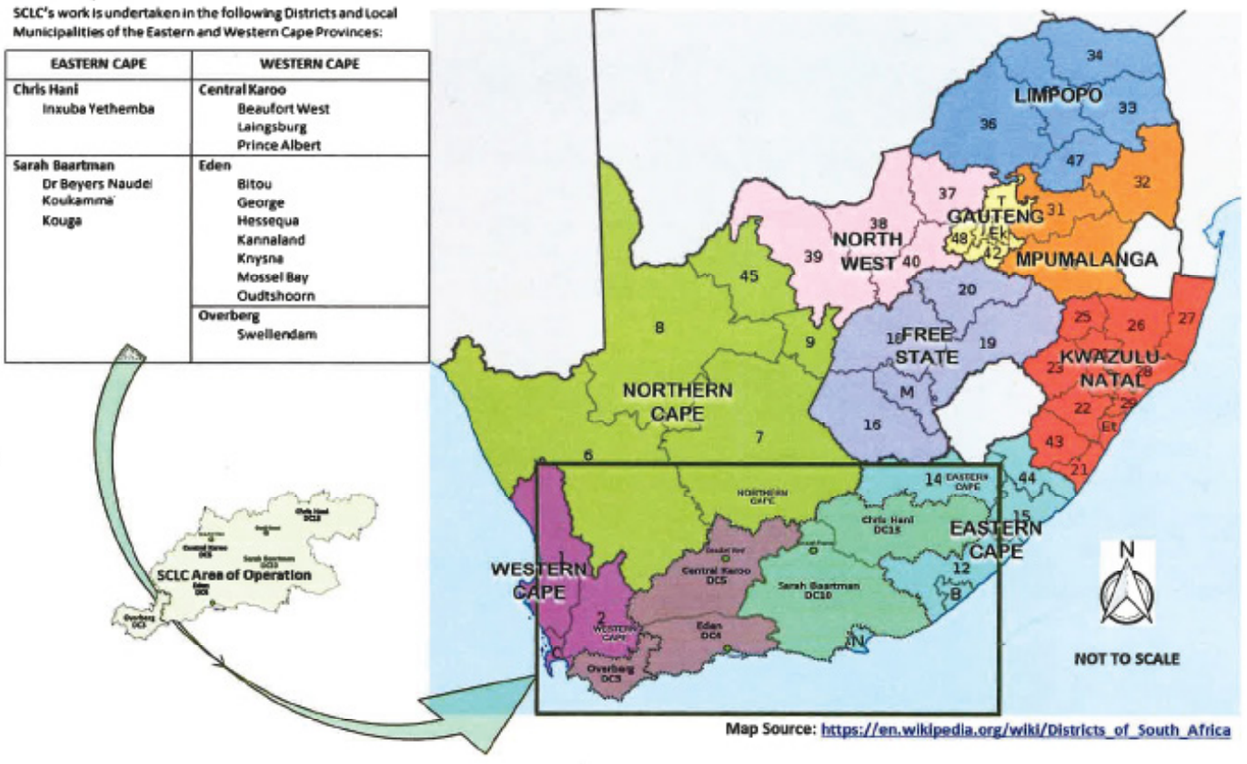
The building that houses the current SCLC offices in George, was generously donated by Novib in 1999.

Area of Operation

SCLC's work is undertaken in the following Districts and Local Municipalities of the Eastern and Western Cape Provinces:

EASTERN CAPE	WESTERN CAPE
Chris Hani Inxuba Yethemba	**Central Karoo** Beaufort West Laingsburg Prince Albert
Sarah Baartman Dr Beyers Naudé Kouukamma Kouga	**Eden** Bitou George Hessequa Kannaland Knysna Mossel Bay Oudtshoorn
	Overberg Swellendam



Map Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_South_Africa

THE LAND SPEAKS

SCLC'S Journey from Resistance towards Transformation

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Founder members of SCLC:

Stephney Henley (Mom Steph)
Gill Dugmore
Lu Harding

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SCAR: Bishop Allan Kannemeyer (First Chairperson)
SCLC: Errol Brandt (Chairperson)
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Lawaaikamp Civic
NCAR
DAG
Black Sash
All past and present Board of Trustees and staff

All those people who travelled with us on this journey and to those who shared their experiences with us.

Kirsten MacMillan for processing, formatting, and fashioning the early versions of the manuscript for this book.

We also acknowledge those who made and impact on the lives of so many people, leaving behind not only dreams, but commitment to succeed in the struggle for a dignified life.

Our special thanks to the people who agreed to share their stories with us.

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Brot für die Welt
Brot für die Welt – Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst

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FOREWORD BY ANTON TITUS – CHAIRPERSON – BOARD OF TRUSTEES

This book encapsulates a legacy of sacrifice and reflects more than thirty years of precious memories, significant learning and lasting experiences. Our organisation truly served society with humility, endured multiple criticisms but persevered in assistance to communities to raise their voices. We kept our vision alive of a vibrant countryside, free from poverty and hunger, where equitable access to the land and its resources are the reality of the day, where people live in harmony with the environment and where family values are respected and upheld.

I am a proud product of the Support Centre for Land Change (SCLC) and salute all our cadres, those in the past and currently for their immense contribution towards organisational development and personal lives. Worth mentioning is the sacred words of Steph Henley, a founder member of SCLC, previous Board and Black Sash Member who stipulated in her "Will" that she wants to "Feed the Fish". These words were not understood at the time, meaning that her body should be thrown into the ocean to feed the fish, which eventually happened. Your life, whether you are alive or dead, can have a fundamental impact on many. You are thus encouraged to treat everyone who crosses your way with dignity and remember that your attitude always determines the weather. This book serves as proof that the Struggle for Land continues and as the Support Centre for Land Change, we must play our pivotal, equitable role in the realisation of the dream of a community free of poverty and hunger.

We are particularly pleased to observe how rural women, men and youth began to organise themselves around alternatives like agro-ecological food production and small scale farming and challenge the exclusive nature of commercial agriculture, how farm workers and dwellers become more informed and organised regarding labour and tenure rights and how our work to raise awareness of environmental justice issues continues.

As the chairperson of the Board of Trustees I am incredibly gratified and humbled to observe our progress over the years. A special word of gratitude to our funders, internationally and nationally for sustaining our organisation financially in a global atmosphere where countries tend to go back to their narrow confines of individualism instead of acting in the interest of humanity. A sense of appreciation to all our communities; it's an absolute privilege to be of service to you. Acknowledgement also goes to our broader saff under the leadership of Ms Rosa-Linda Kock who believes in the principles of this sacred organisation. Keep the intra fire burning and live healthily in order to sustain your energy levels. Be mindful of all the hostile forces who want to derail us and continue to invest in yourselves because if you do not who will, which can be detrimental to those who need us. As I conclude I call the memory of great contributors into existence: Oom Sam, Stephney Henley, Mama Nothobile Sampo, Mr Dukashe, Vuayni Amos Dyasi and acknowledge Oom Japie, Belinda Kirby, Errol Brand, Sareldene Van Rooy, Christopher Saaiman, Angela Conway, Doc Mark Marais, Juliet Jonas, Rachel Windvogel, Thomas Gerwel, Prof. De Jongh and Roger Domingo. Thank you for being the catalyst in my life and the lives of many, for shaping my character and trusting me to lead this organisation.

In conclusion, would I like to call into memory the innocent and gradual death of my stepfather, Samuel Lee who succumbed with bullets in his body. I am sure that he was proud to see his son in service giving effect to the right to life. The SCLC Trust will continue to challenge unjust societal conditions, raise awareness, enhance the capacity of the rural poor, build strategic alliances, empower staff and communities and fight for investments that benefit everyone, especially the poor. We exist within existence to enjoy a quality life and to be of service so that everybody might live.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AnCRA	Association of Northern Cape Rural Advancement
ANC	African National Congress
APF	Anti-Privatisation Forum
BLARF	Baviaanskloof Land and Agrarian Forum
CPA	Communal Property Association
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
CRLS	Centre for Rural Legal Studies
DAG	Development Action Group
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
ECARP	Eastern Cape Agricultural Research Project
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ESTA	Extension for Security of Tenure Act
FWF	Farm Dweller Formation
GBV	Gender-based Violence
GCA	George Civic Association
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
GOG	Guardians of the Garden Route
HAF	Hessequa Agri-Forum
LRIG	International Labour Research and Information Group
JCC	Informal Settlement in Mossel Bay
KEJM	Karoo Environmental Justice Movement

Larc	Land Accountability Research Centre
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
MoC	Mother of Creation
NCAR	National Committee Against Removals
NGO	Non Government Organisation
PLAAS	Poverty, Land and Agricultural Studies
PLAS	Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDI	Rural Development Initiative
Recap	Recapitalisation and Development Policy Programme
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SCAR	Southern Cape Against Removals
SCLC	Southern Cape Land Committee / Support Centre for Land Change
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
SKLRF	Suid Kaap Land Restitution Forum
SLLDP	State Land Lease and Disposal Policy
SPP	Surplus People's Project
TA	Tshintsha Amakhaya
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement

PREFACE: ROSA-LINDA KOCK - CURRENT DIRECTOR OF SCLC

Whether through the Southern Cape Against Removals (SCAR) or the Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC) or the Support Centre for Land Change (SCLC), the voices of the landless were heard. Those voices count in shaping the SCLC into who she is and will continue to shape us as an organisation and as individuals.

How can it not be? Listening to the stories of the elderly, of how they were forced on trains from what they called home in Lawaaikamp, or the farmer who struggled to put food on the table and the land is just taken away, or getting a call about a family sitting on the side of the road with all their belongings because they have been evicted with nowhere to go, this was bound to have an effect.

How do you not get emotional when you see the hope in a child's eyes about a place that they can call home or hear the fear in a woman's voice because she feels unsafe in her unsecured living conditions? How do you not get worried about the impact of climate change on our beautiful landscape or the threat of fracking on the precious Karoo or the off-shore drilling on marine life? How do we keep silent when our water resources are depleted for profit? What are we leaving for future generations to call their land?

The SCLC Board of Trustees have been a pillar of strength through difficult times and our gratitude for your passion and commitment to govern the organisation cannot be put into words.

I salute the dedication and commitment of the previous directors. Dean Van Rooy, Angela Conway and Roger Domingo have all left footprints that are hard to fill. You have left me with an immense task.

The ability to do what we are doing could not happen without our donors and funding partners. This book also celebrates this relationship over the years and into the future.

Our struggle is not unique, this is known because of our networks and sister organisations. We celebrate our victories together; we share our strategies and that makes us strong.

The SCLC has been a safe working space over the years for many. Each staff member brought something to the organisation that supported growth.

In the words of Michael Jordan: "Some people want it to happen; some wish it would happen; others make it happen."

INTRODUCTION

Subjugation and dispossession of the indigenous people of South Africa began within just a few years after the arrival in 1652 of the first European settlers to these shores. The initial objective of the Dutch East India Company was to establish a refreshment station at the Cape to victual passing ships en route to the lucrative spice markets in the East. The Company's instructions to the settlement's officials were for a confined territory with a fruit and vegetable garden and for meat to be obtained by barter from the local cattle keeping Khoekhoe. However, by 1657 already, officials who had been released from Company duty, so-called 'free burghers', were allotted farming land on either side of the Liesbeek River.

In subsequent years Company servants were increasingly released to become full-time farmers, Dutch, French and German immigrants arrived, slaves were imported and the 'halfway station' became a briskly expanding settlement.

To all intents and purposes thus, the Cape became a colony and during the 1600s and 1700s more land around and beyond Table Mountain was meted out to settlers. The colonists invariably ventured further into the interior and along the west and east coast of the sub-continent, not only encroaching upon the traditional domain of the Khoekhoe and San/Bushmen, but also those of the black communities that had by then settled in the northern and eastern parts of the country.

None of the indigenous inhabitants responded complaisantly during the period of colonial expansion and their resistance led to confrontations, skirmishes and battles. Eventually though they succumbed, not only to superior arms and forces, but also to disease (entire Khoekhoe communities for example, were decimated by the 'imported' smallpox epidemics of the 1700s), and to what may be called epistemic violence - the violence of the word. The local people were generally perceived and depicted in a disparaging way. Their appearance, dress, intelligence, language and behaviour were recorded through jaundiced European eyes. Within the first decade of Dutch settlement the various Khoekhoe communities' self-identifying ethnonyms like Chainouqua, Korana, Griqua and Hessequa had been replaced by a general category 'Hottentot'. Likewise the black communities, whether isiZulu-, Sesotho- or isiXhosa-speakers, became categorised as 'Natives' and eventually also excoriated with the demeaning 'K-word'.

The currency of pejorative terms of reference also, of course, found expression in behaviour towards, interaction with, and treatment of the indigenous people. Although many became proselytes at mission stations, were recruited into the colonial military and later, into both the British and Boer forces of the South African War, as well as both World Wars, they were eventually generally, and almost exclusively, incorporated as servants and labourers in successive economic dispensations in South Africa. As the region moved from a period of colonial expansion, through the years of the discovery and exploitation of diamonds and gold, and finally to industrialisation and urbanisation, so too was the now almost customary subordinate role of these people affirmed and formalised in, at first colonial measures, and eventually successive governments' legislation.

Limits on freedom of movement, disenfranchisement and alienation from the land were codified in a series of acts. Again the 'violence of the (written) word' came to the fore. The Union Parliament passed the Natives Land Act of 1913 which defined the nature of black land tenancy and conformed to an earlier commission's segregation proposals. The National Party gave further effect to 'separateness', or apartheid, with inter alia, the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950 and the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950. These acts respectively assigned South Africans to particular categories like 'coloured'[1], white or black, and restricted ownership and occupation of land to a specific statutory group and entailed the forced removal of people in both rural and urban areas. This process of creating exclusive areas, both residential and rural, has aptly been referred to as 'social engineering'.

1 Which was a category created specifically to accommodate those previously labelled 'Hottentot' but also people who did not readily 'fit' into a legislative classification. A special sub-category, 'Other Coloured', was in fact included to provide for, inter alia, people of Malay extraction, Griquas, the Buyses and the Rehoboth community of Namibia (the then South West Africa).

The advent of democracy with the 1994 national election was, however, not a magic wand which produced overnight relief, support or solutions for those voiceless South Africans who had been dispossessed and still continued to lack effective access to, and control over, natural resources and sustainable livelihoods.

Growing frustration, particularly on the part of the poor and landless, with the slow pace of land reform and the failure of so-called participatory democracy, resulted in militant actions reminiscent of apartheid-era protest marches, demonstrations and mass mobilisation which targeted local and provincial authorities as well as private landowners.

In the harsh pre-1994 political context as well as during the ensuing phase of a democratic dispensation, various organisations, movements, forums and other structures came to the fore, first to resist and protest against, the previous government, and then to engage and collaborate with, but also to challenge the 'new' government of the day - particularly when land-related initiatives were considered ill-conceived or ill-advised or ineffective.

More often than not, particularly in the early years, the resistance, protest and mobilisation of communities were prompted by forced removals. A microcosm of the country-wide events, and in many ways exemplifying such struggles, took place in an informal settlement on the outskirts of the town of George, Southern Cape. Faced with forced removal the residents of Lawaaikamp ('Noisy/rowdy camp') mobilised. This saw the birth of an organisation that was to be distinguished by being adept at positioning itself to the needs of its constituencies and by constantly adapting to changing circumstances and contexts - simply because it was consistently and particularly sensitive to peoples' tribulations and needs. The residents' strategies were at first led by the George Civic Association, but assisted by organisations like the Black Sash and the South African Council of Churches, a local affiliate of the National Committee Against Removals, the Southern Cape Against Removals (SCAR) was established. This was 30 years ago, and SCAR, within just a few years, transformed itself into the Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC) which was to continue its commitment of engaging state processes and mobilising community actions, but also increasingly to focus on transformative rather than palliative intervention. Strategies now emphasised a deeper understanding of alternatives to strengthen access and control over natural resources and sustainable livelihoods - people were to be conscientised, the voice of the marginalised was to be heard.

Thus, 30 years ago, in the township of Lawaaikamp, the Southern Cape Land Committee / Support Centre for Land Change, began a remarkable journey - and this is their story.

CHAPTER 1

TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS

The journey begins

When I looked back, it was very sad to think about what happened in Lawaaikamp. The memories still haunt me, I remember, that house over there. That old man was sleeping at the time, when they came to bulldoze his house. He got up, and he sat outside, next to his house while they were doing it. (Notshokovu)

Faced with forced removals in the 1980s, the black and coloured residents of Lawaaikamp became an exemplar of resistance against such evictions in South Africa. This period in the country's history was marked by draconian measures by the government and subjection and involuntary relocation were met with defiance and concerted confrontation.

Forced removals were prevalent around the country and in 1986 a national State of Emergency had been declared. In the Western Cape Province, and specifically in the Southern Cape region, the same practices prevailed. Despite claims by government officials that forced removals had been replaced with 'voluntary resettlement' a number of communities were faced with eviction notices, demolitions, detention of leaders, and even shootings and violent attacks. One such community was Lawaaikamp. Lawaaikamp, an informal settlement situated on the outskirts of the town of George, was home to some 2000 shack dwellers who were under threat of forced removal to Sandkraal under the pretext that Lawaaikamp had been declared a so-called 'coloured' area and that the settlement posed a health threat. There was a sense of community among the people who came to live here - they had been evicted from farms and areas in and around the town of George. They 'got along' and did not want to be moved from their houses nor separated along racial lines.

Phumelelo Booysen

Many of the Lawaaikamp residents had thus already suffered the indignity and impoverishment of forced removals in the past and were now determined to combat yet another such eviction. The onslaught by the George Municipality was relentless and harsh and included demolition of some 150 homes, the firing of municipal workers living in Lawaaikamp, mysterious fires destroying homes, coercion of people to move to a place they called Sandkraal and detention of activists. Lawaaikamp residents had been given a deadline that they should move from the area by 31 December 1986 - more specifically the design was to relocate black people to Thembalethu, a township earmarked exclusively for blacks.

My name is Phumelelo Booysen. I am originally from Middelburg, in the Eastern Cape. I came to George in 1982. At the time, we worked for the George municipality. We were staying in a township in town called KwariKwari Township – it consisted mainly of migrant workers from the Eastern Cape. In 1983 there were rumours that we were to be relocated to Lawaaikamp. Then we were relocated, and others were taken back to Middelburg Cape. That is how I ended up in Lawaaikamp in a compound.

Coming from Middelburg, we were politically matured, having been involved in huge congresses. In Lawaaikamp we started where we left off in Middelburg, to educate people politically about what is happening in the country. It was a struggle to convince local people because we were known as 'Inkommers', coming in with politics. (Phumelelo Booysen is one of the founder members of SCLC, he played a prominent role during the Lawaaikamp Anti-Removals campaign. Today, 30 years since the SCLC's formation, Phumelelo is still with the organisation.)

The defiance and counteractive drive was led by the George Civic Association under the banner of Asiyi eSandkraal! (to become known as Thembalethu) 'Don't remove it upgrade it'. The GCA was supported by a network of national civil society organisations including the Black Sash, the Legal Resources Centre, the South African Council of Churches and the NCAR, none of which was in George. It was therefore deemed strategic, and in line with country-wide initiatives, to launch a local NGO to support the struggles of Lawaaikamp and other communities in the area facing the threat of forced removals. In 1988 the Black Sash[2] took the lead in establishing a local affiliate of the NCAR[3], namely the Southern Cape Against Removals (SCAR). The board of the newly formed SCAR consisted of Black Sash and SACC members together with local George activists with the founder member being Stephney Henley or Mam Steph as she was affectionately known. On 1 January 1989 the first fieldworker was appointed, Phumelelo Booysen, a resident and leading activist from Lawaaikamp. Two GCA leaders who also played key organising roles during the Lawaaikamp struggle were Nomajuda Bityi and Mr Notshokovu.

There was a relationship between us and SCAR. SCAR was first in the garage there at Angela's house and later it moved to the Black Sash office in Knysna, that is where SCAR started. But we did a lot of work out of that garage. We could do things there. (Notshokovu)

Thus, from inception the organisation's roots were firmly entrenched within and led by the people's struggles.

2 The Black Sash founded in 1955 was a national white women's resistance organisation campaigning against human rights abuse during the apartheid era. In 1995 the Black Sash was reformed as a non-racial humanitarian organisation.

3 The NCAR was a national organisation which grew out of the Black Sash committees formed to fight forced removals. The NCAR campaigned for the reprieve of communities under threat of removals and the return of those which had already been removed. NCAR had nine affiliated structures based in all provinces of SA. In 1990 the NCAR changed its name to the National Land Committee (NLC).

Everybody got involved because everybody felt the oppression. There was no need for us to call meetings. People were sharing information. If there is this street corner there, the people there would share and so everybody will know about the meeting. We were so united; every morning before we go to work, there was a church near here - Baptist church. Every morning, after leaving our houses and before we go to work, we would go and have a prayer there, the women of Lawaaikamp. (Bityi)

One of the things I can remember: we were brothers and sisters here. We would not do anything without us sitting together talking about strategies, talking about what is going to happen tomorrow, what is our intention to do next week, and so forth. And where we heard that there were misinformed people, we would invite them, and clarify. The youth were doing their own thing there, on this side, even these meetings we are talking about, they were well attended in the evenings, because of the women and the youth. They were educating the community. (Notshokovu)

We were not even allowed at a funeral. We as a committee would get a letter, giving us instructions that not more than 50 people can attend the funeral. Special Branch, they would deliver the letter to our secretary. And no speakers, they would tell us! But we fought! We made that funeral to be on Saturday. And what we did, we invited the members of the Council of Churches. They were here! And we just ignored them (Special Branch), we carried on, even if there were instructions. (Bityi)

THE 'LAND QUESTION'

Land dispossession of the majority in South Africa was not a singular event at a specific moment in time, but an ongoing and complex process over three and a half centuries. It shaped the lives of generations of Bushmen/San, Khoekhoe, so-called 'coloured' and black people, and sparked diverse forms of resistance against the loss of land, at both local and national levels, infusing the larger struggle for liberation with its grievances and slogans. Dispossession was always seen as coterminous with and an integral feature of the all-encompassing disenfranchisement and oppression of the people. For this reason, political movements have long argued that national liberation without resolution of the 'Land Question' is incomplete, and this perspective continues to inform the politics of land today.

Lawaaikamp Former GCA Members: Zolile Hugo, Kleinbooi Bodlani, Evelyn Hanase and Melford Notshokovu

And then came the issue that all black people must be moved to Thembalethu - people started to ask questions: why should we be moved, we have been moved for years, and suddenly again now. I happened to be elected then as the organiser of the civic association. We formed a civic association, and I became one of the organisers for that civic. At that time, I was a worker of the municipality, and we were also organising municipal workers.

In 1986, they demolished a lot of worker's houses. I started to mobilise people against these removals, with local people now centrally involved, because it was affecting them directly. But for me, and many others, it was part of a broader political struggle, resisting black authorities, but for them (the people) it was that they were tired of removals, they were not going to Thembalethu.' (Phumelelo Booysen)

The SCAR offices were initially located within the Black Sash office in Knysna but in reality most of the work took place from the white Volkswagen Golf which the organisation purchased and in which Phumelelo Booysen, often accompanied by Board member Debby Henley, travelled from community to community. The repressive climate of the time meant that meetings were illegal, telephones were tapped, people and cars were followed and searched and comrades mysteriously disappeared, were shot or detained. Hence, the early days of SCAR were marked by these conditions.

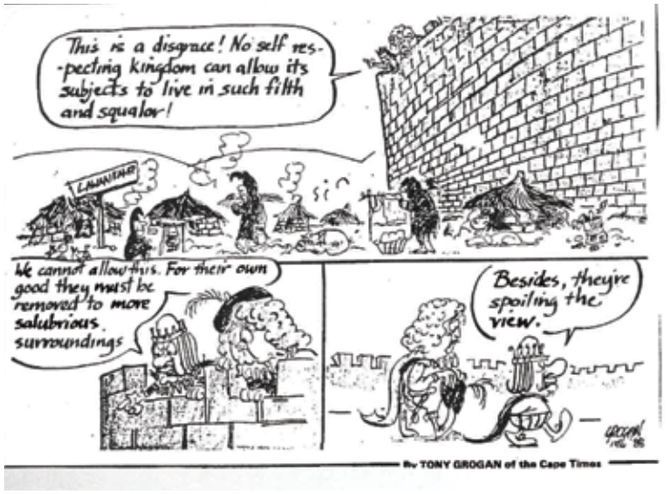
Such circumstances demanded a range of resistance tactics. Nationally the UDF, with some three million members, led the protest against the tricameral parliament. By 1989 the UDF had formalised its relationship with COSATU and the United Democratic Movement was launched. The UDM called for a programme of civil disobedience towards making the country ungovernable. In SCAR's area of work the struggles and tactics were informed by this context. The youth played a leading role in the more militant and disruptive tactics, counteracting the state's attempts of divide and rule with so-called 'coloured' and black youth united in action. The more militant comrades often rejected the tactics of legal recourse, negotiations or protest politics which were led by civic associations. The fact that communities are rarely homogeneous resulted in accusations against civic associations of being non-representative and of empowering a few individuals. This proved a challenge for SCAR and other supporting NGOs whose primary contact was through the civics. From the beginning SCAR found itself supporting a two-pronged strategy of engaging state processes and decision makers while at the same time mobilising and supporting mass actions.

Publicity and information about the Lawaaikamp resistance thus led to the mobilisation of external support from other sectors of South African society who were fighting against apartheid. Underground structures of the then UDF assisted them in spreading information, and garnering support for their resistance. The SACC, student organisations, and international media came to address funerals, and cover events and protests staged by the Lawaaikamp residents.

Yes, we had Boesak, Bishop Tutu, we got Reverend Chikane here, you know! There were underground structures that we utilised. You know, a huge meeting was going to take place at the old creche here. The whole Lawaaikamp was full of media, from overseas, they were here! We also had the support from the students at Stellenbosch and UCT. (Notshokovu)

It was a scary time but I knew I had to do something to support and help other communities just as we in Lawaaikamp had been supported in our struggles. This work was ongoing and part of the Lawaaikamp struggle. In addition I was very happy to have a job and to be paid for work which I as an activist had always carried out voluntarily.'
(Phumelelo Booysen; SCLC's first fieldworker)

PW Botha. This isn't a forced removal.



THE ROOTS OF RESISTANCE

The National Party government introduced its policy of apartheid after its victory in 1948. The black reserves, the rump of formerly independent African chiefdoms, became the building blocks of the so-called Bantustans, or ethnically-defined 'homelands' (Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Sotho, Tswana, Venda etc), which were eventually provided with a spurious 'independence'. These became the dumping grounds for blacks without work as migrants in the cities, towns, industries and farms of (white) South Africa. In urban areas people were strictly segregated by race, now enforced through the Group Areas Act of 1950. In rural areas, many black land-owning groups and communities were designated as 'black spots' in the white-owned countryside, and dispossessed and forced to relocate to the reserves.

An estimated 3.5 million black people were forcibly removed from the land they had occupied during the period 1960 to 1983. 'Coloured' people, and particularly also those who were increasingly identified as descendants of the earliest South Africans like the Khoekhoen and the Bushmen/San, were of course not excluded from these processes. Despite 'owning' parcels of land like Slangrivier, Buysdorp and Buisplaas, the vast majority were destined for residential localities, especially townships in urban areas, specifically demarcated for them.

Resistance to removals was fierce, often using loopholes in the law to delay relocations, although futile for the most part. By the 1980s, however, it did see the beginnings of a rural social movement fighting to defend the land rights of the oppressed majority.

The period from mid-1989 to the end of 1989 with the increase in resistance and international pressure forced the apartheid government to shift strategy. Nationally political leaders were being released and the country was moving towards negotiations. These changes filtered down to the local level and in November 1989 Lawaaikamp was reprieved. This was the first major victory which SCAR was able to celebrate with the community and was hailed nationally and internationally as one of the first successes against forced removal. Other communities with which SCAR worked to resist forced removal included JCC in Mossel Bay, Smutsville in Sedgefield and Bossiesgif and Qolweni in Plettenberg Bay, all of which were eventually reprieved and upgraded.

The victory of resisting forced removal was followed by a rejection of Black Local Authorities and demands for integration into local municipalities and the upgrading of informal settlements. The call was for "One city, one tax base". SCAR, together with civic associations and other civil society organisations with technical planning skills, in particular the Development Action Group (DAG), were intensely involved in developing upgrading plans and in arguing for *in situ* upgrades. Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) was employed in an attempt to facilitate participation and ensure that people informed the development process. The emphasis was on solidarity and grassroots participation towards collective action rather than extracting information to speak on behalf of people. In many communities SCAR facilitated the PRA process with SCLC staff eventually trained in PRA skills in India where the practice had been widely used.

In the early 1980s SCAR had thus opened an office in George, in the home of Angela Conway who was one of the board members. SCAR employed their first director and financial manager in the persons of Dean van Rooy and Florence Cairncross.

The appointment of two black women in positions of leadership reflected the organisation's commitment to the empowerment of women. SCAR was becoming a force for transformation in the area attracting harassment with frequent raids on the office and intimidation tactics that were employed against the staff and the board.

At the time, the George Municipality was negotiating with the Lawaaikamp residents, but instead of negotiating with the formal civic structure, it proposed setting up a 'skakelkomitee' with which they could interact. Having SCAR as a support, and to fool the municipality's attempt to choose who they wanted to engage, the Lawaaikamp residents proposed SCAR as their representative.

Another of the successes of this era was the integration of Thembalethu (formerly known as Sandkraal) into the George Municipality. SCAR worked with activists in Thembalethu, including the "five mad women" led by the legendary Mama Sampo who had fought tirelessly for the transferal of Thembalethu from the black local authority to George Municipality. In 1993 Mama Sampo was employed at SCAR and continued to champion the rights of the landless and especially women.

As the country prepared for its first democratic election, SCAR joined the ranks of expectant and hopeful civil society organisations confident that the era of forced removals was really past and that the democratically elected government would address the injustices of the past and facilitate land reform. To reflect this shift SCAR changed its name to the Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC).

During this phase, SCAR began focusing on some other communities in the Southern Cape, still fighting removals. At first, the Lawaaikamp residents questioned this move, but at the same time, realised that they were ready to do the work required within the community.

'Lawaaikamp was (thus) in fact the first place to be reprieved. It was 1989. Because you could see, the system was going, that something was happening. We did not even know about negotiations that were taking place overseas, by the ANC. Then we even changed our strategy here, to development. (Notshokovu)

I think the good thing about SCAR, communities in other parts of the Southern Cape were already organised by themselves. With either resident's associations, civics or housing committees. Our method was really to use the learnings from Lawaaikamp to understand what was going on, why they are relocated, and started to train people around negotiation skills, while the mass mobilisation was going on - the approach of engaging the authorities at the time. Thus, we had a space to bring politics in heavily in other communities, even more so than what we did in Lawaaikamp now. (Phumelelo Booysen)

The municipality, you remember, when all these things were happening, the municipality wanted a structure, with which they could negotiate. And they thought the civic was going to talk only about Lawaaikamp. So, they talked to SCAR not realising that it was also a political organisation! (Bityi)

They linked up with the national network, the National Land Committee. They then changed the name to SCLC. I must say this, you know, once they were linked up with their national, they automatically were not involved in the local issues. We felt that they had left us, they don't assist us anymore. Although we could manage. There was a little bit of tension. But we sat down, and discussed it, and it disappeared somehow. (Notshokovu)

After Lawaaikamp, we started to learn and became part of broader democratic processes, and we started also to learn from other parts of the country what is going on, like Transvaal, Brits, Noordhoek, Bloekombos in Cape Town, PE you name them. And those communities, District 6 people came in with their popular education, telling their story. All those things motivated people. So, peer learning and exchange programmes were always a part of our approach and Lawaaikamp was always a centre of learning for other communities to meet with the Lawaai leadership to see what is going on in Lawaaikamp. (Phumelelo Booysen)

And the struggle then started with me, and my relationship with my old comrades. I started now to have, for example a car, driving around the region. And this did not go well with comrades, because they thought that they were entitled to the resources of SCAR, and I was accounting to the SCAR management at the time. But I understand, because if it was formed by them, they expected more support from us, but we couldn't give them 100%, because we had to focus on other communities in the region too. And that is how it went on, until November 1989, so Lawaaikamp was reprieved, there were no more forced removals. As SCAR, we felt that we should continue working with other communities who faced similar struggles. (Phumelelo Booysen)

Lawaaikamp women

CHAPTER 2

FROM ACTIVISM TO ENGAGEMENT

GCA Chairperson Melford Notshokovu with members of Lawaaikamp community

But that did not stop us (the 'tension' with the SCLC due to its shift of emphasis), we went ahead. We had the engineers from DAG, and they drew up a map for us, of Lawaaikamp. And it was very difficult. We did it at the "Parliament" here, this "Parliament". We sat down and we were drawing exactly, because it started with: what would you like to have here in Lawaaikamp. And then we came with that information. We sat as a Civic and got, something like a discussion document that we submitted to the municipality. It says what the people of Lawaaikamp want. And DAG helped us to do exactly that. I mean, look at the stadium up here; the school, the clinic, the crèche, besides the residential area. That was done by the community.

The school here is a practical example: That school came out of civic action. That was built by us, by the community. We implemented our idea of development, that is, that people must be involved in their own development. It was amazing. (Notshokovu)

Although SCAR's, and then its successor the SCLC's, purview of interest, involvement and engagement broadened to also look beyond local issues - to particularly extend to communities in the Southern Cape region and even beyond - their 'home base' was not neglected.

One of SCLC's 'departing gifts', for example, was to put the Lawaaikamp committee in touch with a collective of social housing engineers. The relationship between this collective and the Lawaaikamp community once more resulted in the formation of a civil society organisation, today known as the Development Action Group (DAG). Phumelelo Booysen, stemming from his personal involvement, sheds more light on the establishment of SCAR and on its transformation into SCLC (see page 13 & 14):

One thing I missed, was that after this awareness raising of 1985 and 1986 the young people of George then started to focus on something else, the high school, because there was never a black high school in George. Then one of them started to pursue the idea that there should be a high school for black people. They were not involved in the actual resistance against removals, but to ensure that Lawaaikamp is proclaimed as a township with all the necessary schools, etc. So, on that note, from 1986 they started to mobilise around the school, and combined the struggle of the school with the forced removal, and resisting the closure of the creche, which was part of the plan to relocate people, saying that there is a high school on that side, you can't stay here.

So that's where things started to change, even though the forced removals were more viewed "as dinge for ou mense" and the "inkommers", but education for us here is critical as young people of George. So, it was that combination of taking three key issues: education, the forced removals, but also the development of Lawaaikamp. Led by the civic and the George youth congress they were pursuing this idea of other developments.

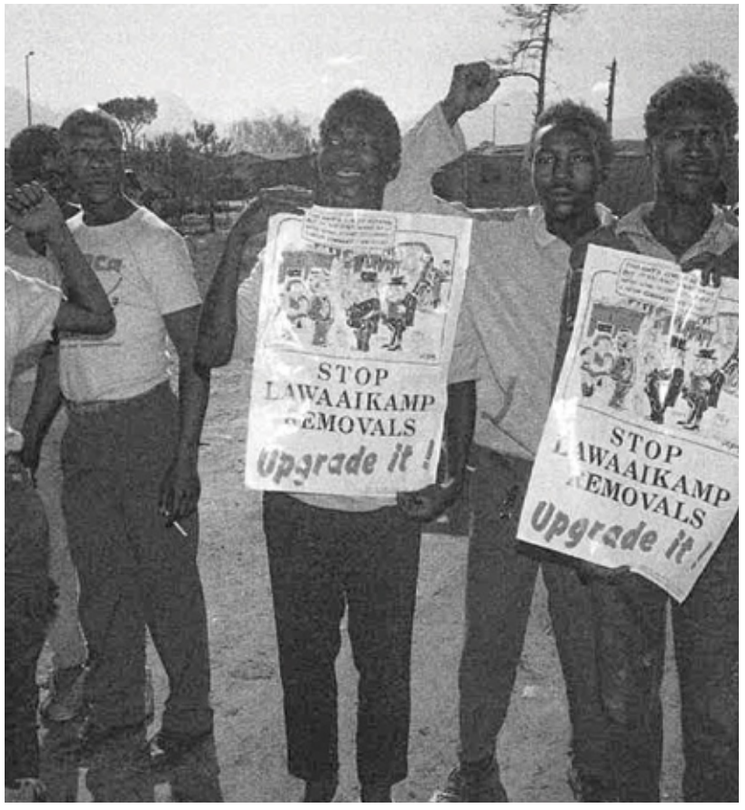
I was detained in 1986, and a lot of people, up to five thousand people, were relocated. and when we came back later years, I think November, there were 350 families left in Lawaaikamp, and we started where we left off. With the restrictions of people's organisations at the time, we got comrades like Lorraine Platsky from NCAR, SPP, who joined us, telling us about what was happening elsewhere in the country. Together with them, and a local lawyer, Kobus Pienaar, we started to fight these anti-removals using the law, but at the same time continuing our secret meetings, because we were not allowed to have mass meetings.

The whole idea started in 1987 of establishing a service organisation, which was to be an affiliate of what we called the NCAR: National Committee Against Removals. We formed SCAR, which was the Southern Cape Committee against Removals. At the time, because it was formed in Lawaaikamp, there was a strong feeling that this is for Lawaaikamp. But the vision was not for Lawaaikamp, it was for the Southern Cape, for there were other communities facing similar struggles.

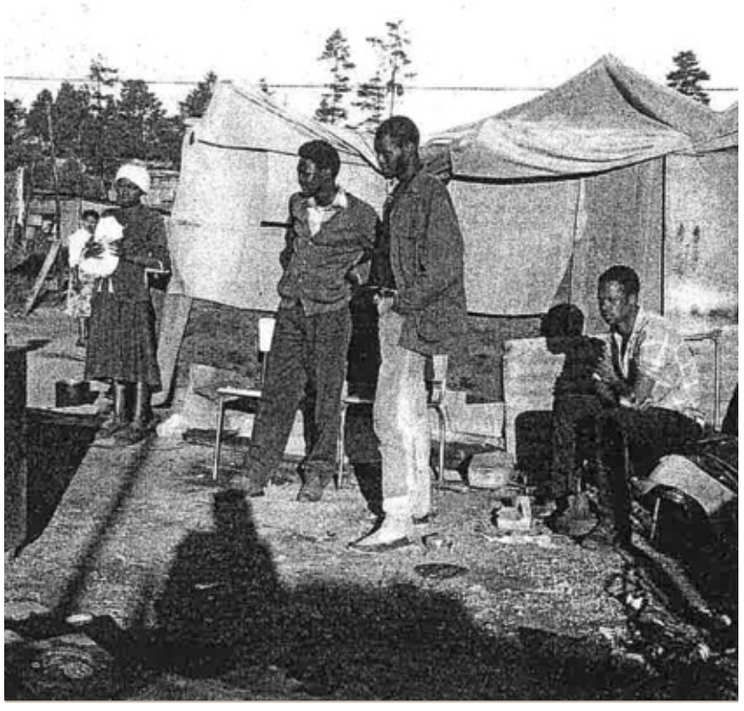
I was no longer an organiser, but a worker for this organisation called SCAR, and since then I focused on SCAR, and started to work in places like Mossel Bay, there was a forced removal there, and Sedgefield, Knysna and Bossiesveld. But the good learnings from Lawaaikamp were replicated in all those communities, which made things easier for me, because I had been part of Lawaaikamp, the upgrading processes, community upgrading and how is it different from the state approach to upgrading.

The fact that it was also people's upgrading meant that all sectors of the community, youth, women, etc. were part of drawing the actual plan of what Lawaaikamp should look like. It was a participatory process led by DAG in Cape Town, with the town planners, and with the community, and I think for us today - one should be able to learn from the past.

Of this integrated approach, where you don't only look at one aspect, like looking at evictions - you look at the long-term solution to the issue (of farm workers), but that is what Lawaaikamp did: the integration, the development of the community, whilst resisting removals at the same time. But also, fighting for the integration of places like Thembalethu into George. It was that broad kind of mass democratic change for George. That was a major learning experience for me and many other comrades. (Phumelelo Booysen)



Lawaaikamp Youth Protesting



Community member of Lawaaikamp outside structures

LAND REFORM POLICIES - POST-APARTEID

The transition to democracy began in 1990 and continued until the first democratic election of 1994. Rural community members and the anti-apartheid NGOs that had helped to resist forced removals worked together with liberation movements and their political parties to develop a set of land reform policies. These had a strong rights-based orientation, no doubt influenced by the legal strategies adopted in the 1980s, resulting in the neglect of agrarian reform, which focuses on the restructuring of systems and relations of rural production.

A constitutional framework for land reform was agreed to through difficult negotiations in this period and finalised in 1996. The property clause, in section 25 of the Bill of Rights, provides protection for property rights, and is often derided as a result. However, it also defines land reform as in the 'public interest', and allows for expropriation at compensation levels that are 'just and equitable' rather than at market value. It provides a right to restitution of land dispossessed after June 1913, and a right to security of tenure, in both cases along with measures for comparable redress (cash compensation or alternative land) when appropriate. Access to land through redistribution is not a right, but the state must take 'reasonable measures', 'within its available resources', to foster conditions enabling equitable access to land. Government adopted a 'willing buyer, willing seller' approach to land acquisition for the purposes of redistribution, and prices paid have generally been around market value. Compensation for land acquired for restitution has also been acquired at market value, and there have been very few cases of expropriation for land reform purposes.

Government's early vision of land reform emphasized its multiple objectives: addressing dispossession and injustice; creating a more equitable distribution of land; reducing poverty and assisting economic growth; providing security of tenure; establishing sound land administration; and contributing to national reconciliation. The rural poor (seen as comprising victims of land dispossession, small-scale farmers, farm workers, labour tenants, communal area residents, women and youth) were to be the primary beneficiaries.

Progress was slow in the first five years of land reform, and most targets were not met by the Department of Land Affairs (e.g. redistribution was nowhere near the target of the transfer of 30% of commercial farm land to black South Africans within 5 years). Although land reform projects were exempt from restrictions of subdivision, in practice large groups of people were expected to operate farms as unitary commercial enterprises. Post-settlement support for beneficiaries was weak, if not absent, in most cases. In 1998 land restitution was transformed from a cumbersome, courts-driven process into one with considerable administrative leeway, but relatively few land claims were settled by 1999. The Land Claims Commission found it extremely challenging to provide effective post-settlement support; in part this was the result of the neglect of agrarian reform in earlier periods of policymaking.

A host of new land laws were passed, aimed mainly at securing land rights. Farmworkers and dwellers were protected from arbitrary evictions through the Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997. The occupation and use rights of labour tenants were protected by the Land Reform (Labour Tenant's) Act of 1996, but tenants or former tenants could also apply for ownership of the land they occupied. Communal Property Associations (CPAs) were established to allow groups to hold restored and redistributed land in a form of collective land tenure. Communal tenure, however, was highly politicised, particularly in the erstwhile black 'homeland' areas, as a result of the lobbying power of chiefs, and progress in developing a policy framework was slow and incomplete. By the time of the 1999 election, no new law addressing this key aspect of policy, affecting around a third of the population, had been passed.

THE TRANSITION

South Africa's first democratic election in 1994 also heralded a process which entailed a kind of demobilizing of civil society with many NGO activists accepting positions in government and trade unions and forming alliances with government. The SCLC also 'lost' members of staff who took up positions in the Department of Land Affairs. Given that land ownership patterns were still distorted with 13% of the population owning 87% of the land, the SCLC shifted emphasis from activism and resistance to collaboration and informing and implementing state land reform policy in order to address the *status quo*.

The SCLC thus became part of the national initiative to ensure rural and landless people's voices were heard in the development of new policy. The primary strategy was advocacy to influence policy. Submissions were informed by local and national engagements with landless people and the organisation was to look back with regret at the reconciliatory nature of the new policies which did not transform land ownership patterns.

Alongside the state-led processes of policy formulation civil society facilitated alternative spaces. As part of the NLC, SCLC already facilitated the participation of rural women and men in the 1993 'Back to the Land Campaign' followed by the Land Summit of 1994 wherein some 400 organisations and people's structures participated. The outcome of the summit was a Land Charter which amongst other demands motivated for the expropriation of land.

Hence, by 1994, the SCLC programmes mirrored the state land reform programmes of Restitution, Redistribution and Security of Tenure. The SCLC supported people in organising themselves as a collective to benefit from 'demand drive', market based, state land reform. On the one hand the government was implementing a so-called land reform programme while, in line with the neoliberal agenda, embarking on a process of privatisation of state assets and outsourcing the management of resources like forests and railways. In the SCLC's area of involvement this impacted particularly severely on the forestry and railway workers and the rural settlements in which they lived. A number of workers were retrenched and entire settlements were threatened with relocation into urban townships under the pretext of cheaper service provision. Evictions from commercial farms continued with many former farm dwellers relocating to informal settlements usually occupying state land. These rural and peri-urban communities were determined to remain where they were, take ownership of their houses and benefit from access to natural resources like forests and agricultural land.

National Community Conference

The lack of focus on agrarian reform was debilitating and contributed to high levels of project failure. Agricultural policies were uncoupled from land policies (and both from water policies) and initially focused strongly on deregulation and liberalisation. Subsidies for credit, inputs and exports were abolished and the single channel marketing system, with fixed prices, was dismantled. These measures were portrayed as progressive because they removed state support for privileged white farmers. But large-scale programmes of support for small-scale black farmers and land reform beneficiaries, despite being identified as a key need, were notable by their almost complete absence.

In this context the SCLC pursued a two-pronged approach working intensively with local community structures towards accessing land, obtaining housing and gaining control over natural resources. This work informed models of institutional arrangements, livelihood strategies, alternative services, and mobilisation strategies which could be replicated in other communities with the same struggles and inform advocacy submissions. At the same time the SCLC enhanced solidarity through sharing and exchanges across the various sectors bringing geographically scattered, rural people together at a district level towards strengthening the voice of the collective. Through these district events a number of people's structures were formed:

- The Suid-Kaap Land Restitution Forum (SKLRF) emerged representing 32 claimant communities mobilised for the settlement of restitution claims. The SKLRF was vocal and active leading a strong campaign in the region.

- The Forestry Indaba was launched in 2002 representing the then 20 forestry settlements and strengthening the voice of the housing committees which workers had used to organise themselves during the process of the privatisation of the forests. The Indaba mobilised around tenure security starting with the pensioners who were forced to relocate into urban townships while their white counterparts were provided with social housing. Later the Indaba challenged the privatisation of the forestry settlements demanding that people who lived there should enjoy security of tenure and benefit from the natural resources of the forests. In addition

the Indaba challenged the multinational businesses which owned the private forests and threatened forestry dwellers with relocation to townships. The leadership of the Indaba ensured the structure remained accountable, relevant and strategic as well as standing in solidarity with other rural struggles and campaigns.

- The Farm Dweller Formation brought together a network of rural advice offices and farm workers mobilising for the rights of farm workers and dwellers including tenure and fair labour rights. The FDF provided paralegal support to farm dwellers disseminating information around relevant legislation and challenging violations especially evictions. Through the FDF farm workers' voice was strengthened to engage state departments and politicians and raise public awareness around conditions on farms.

- The State Land Forum mobilised people, predominately evicted farm dwellers, living in informal settlements on state land (Wilderness Heights, Kleinkrantz and Power Town) seeking secure tenure, inclusion in municipalities and development of houses and infrastructure. The forum united the community leadership structures towards building solidarity and strengthening mobilisation.

- The Transnet Forum represented the 12 Transnet settlements which had been impacted upon by privatisation and were mobilising for inclusion into municipalities and upgrading of settlements.

The formations were powerful in engaging state processes towards strengthening the voice of the landless and marginalized. The SCLC's role was primarily to enhance solidarity through the provision of resources for people to come together geographically, dissemination of information around government policies and programmes and supporting the various forums in their lobbying of officials and decision makers, campaigns and mass actions. To strengthen their voice the SCLC supported communities and activists with undertaking intensive PRA towards the articulation of collective visions, identification of livelihood opportunities and with research into appropriate, affordable and sustainable services.

Planning organisations like the DAG and engineering consultants like Liebenberg and Stander provided technical expertise resulting in alternative service plans for the 16 forestry settlements, a plan for Power Town which combated the threat of flooding, plans for the development of Buisplaas, and in Wilderness Heights an entire eco-village plan was developed. These strategies helped with the formulation of demands underpinning campaigns and lobbying strategies.

To inform development processes and ensure that people participated in their own development, the SCLC together with community leaders, participated in and even co-ordinated multi-stakeholder steering committees. While these steering committees were important in holding state departments and corporates like Transnet and forestry businesses accountable and strengthening 'participatory democracy', they were fraught with technicalities and often bogged down in administrative red tape. Community representatives found it difficult to participate in the highly technical nature of planning and the high turnover of officials made continuity difficult. In addition, forums engaged parliamentary portfolio committees, national ministers, provincial MECs and local municipalities. In some cases, like the Kraaibos restitution claim, legal recourse was also pursued.

The SPP, NCAR, ANCRA and all those organisations were part of NCAR, so we continued that relationship in the early 90s, when the NCAR turned to become the NLC, we became affiliated to them. That was a new space for me as an activist, and come to these schools, researchers and people with different types of skills, and that is how the SCLC started coming into this broad network.

First as a small baby organisation, but with development in that network to make our brand the Southern Cape Land Committee, kind of taken notice of by other organisations. So, the history, and the NLC started now in PE, we used to have courses to capacitate people like myself and many other new organisations and our focus now was more on the new coming government. Because of that we started to organise a national land conference in February 1994, just before the elections where we outlined the kind of vision we want to see in terms of land reform in this country, and from there we continued with other organisations, and our voice was quite strong at the time.

But then we started in 94, assisting what we viewed as a friendly government from the ANC, seeing that we were all activists. and we realised by 1997 this is not actually working.

There were three programmes introduced with the first minister, Hanekom, the redistribution, restitution and tenure, and we were more or less central in assisting government in implementing those kinds of programmes. Because of that, in our area, the first pilot project in the Mandela government, was Brandwag, and 1997, that was one of the key victories for us in the new dispensation.

Places like Buisplaas, so you could see that things were happening, but we were frustrated about many other processes that seemed blocked by this approach of willing buyer-willing seller, market-led land reform. And there were not enough resources, so we continued supporting these initiatives, but also starting to critique some of these things. (Phumelelo Booysen)

Forestry Indaba

CHAPTER 3

REFLECTION AND FREEDOM, STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES

Regular reflection has always been part of the organisation's rhythm. Space is provided for staff to share experiences and to sharpen their own practice. Staff participate in regular 'In House Weeks' reflecting on the context, on SCLC practice and ensuring all staff remain involved in the collective life of the organisation. These spaces are particularly important to counteract the isolation of staff in satellite offices.

By 2003 we did introspection about what had changed since 1994, and how and why it had changed. We invited comrades to give us a national perspective, a critical analysis of what was going on, and we realised that the same thing that happened under Mandela's time, would still be happening in ten years' time. We realised that we had to conscientise people to be more critical. and get out of implementing government strategies. Our role should be to conscientise and mobilise people to access what they want, and since 2003 we were doing that through summer schools, winter schools, going to organisations like ILRIG, and that was part of building what we understand that people should engage. So that is our role that we continue today in different forms. (Phumelelo Booysen)

By the end of 2002 the country was experiencing a narrowing of political space with the president referring to dissenting voices as being 'ultra-left'. The spread of HIV was rampant, aggravated by the denialist stance of President Mbeki impacting personally on friends and comrades with whom the SCLC worked. Land reform was failing dismally, and state budgets reflected the lack of priority given to land redistribution. In some areas where the SCLC worked the DLA stated that no redistribution projects would be accepted due to a lack of budget. South Africa was in the infamous position of having the greatest disparity between the rich and the poor of any country world-wide. Within this context the SCLC had to reassess strategies and focus.

An emancipatory praxis is about unlearning the old and learning the new... substantial reflective space needs to be created'. (SCLC Mid Term Review; June 2014)

At the request of landless people in the Eastern Cape, the SCLC established an office in Graaff-Reinet and began to work with small-scale farmers and farm workers and dwellers in the province. For the first time the SCLC was engaging with and supporting organisations of emergent farmers mobilised for access to land and resources for agriculture. In response to the high number of farm dweller evictions and the introduction by the Department of Labour of the Sectoral Determination for Agriculture, in 2002 the SCLC employed an attorney and opened a legal clinic. This was part of the national initiative of the Rural Legal Trust to provide access to the justice system for farm workers and farm dwellers. While the SCLC recognised that addressing issues on a case by case basis through the courts was not transformative, the voice of farm workers and dwellers was strengthened through the threat of legal action and several individual eviction cases and labour violations were won.

The 2003 evaluation and strategic planning process was a major watershed in the SCLC's course of involvement. The organisation had to come to terms with the fact that after 10 years of democracy state-led land reform had failed to transform land ownership patterns or to improve the lives of rural women and men. As the SCLC examined the root causes for this failure the organisation became more aware of the global context and how globalisation was compounding patterns of accumulation and oppression. For the first time the SCLC fully realised the negative impact of the neoliberal policies of the ANC government and the failure of so-called participatory democracy and the impact this had on the poor and working class. The SCLC shifted from implementing state-led land reform to mobilisation and raising awareness around alternatives which challenge the dominant paradigm and foster transformation. Thus the SCLC was compelled to deepen understanding around alternatives which strengthen access to and control over natural resources, sustainable rural livelihoods and the voice of the marginalised. This shift was reflected in the newly articulated vision for a 'totally transformed society

The SCLC is not so much seen as an organisation delivering a service to people as grateful recipients but rather as a structure accountable to their own structures. In today's context of outsourced service providers delivering products to beneficiaries, the SCLC's relationship of solidarity with its constituency is remarkable.
(SCLC External Evaluation; 2012)

wherein Justice, Empowerment and Equity prevail and the Environment is utilized without compromising future generations.' (The SCLC Strategic Plan; 2004 – 2006).

The SCLC's programmes no longer adhered to the state-led land reform programme. The new programmes were the People's Land Access & Ownership Programme, the Rural People's Livelihood Programme and the Farm Dweller Programme. Primary methodologies included in the reworked SCLC mission were to 'use popular education to conscientise in a participatory, people-centred manner.' (SCLC Strategic Plan, 2004 – 2006). However even as the organisation shifted, the SCLC continued to take its lead from the people with whom they worked.

I think that as the SCLC we should learn from the past, and continue to start from where people are, instead of coming in as a civil society, and imposing programmes in communities that we think are ok, because those things are not sustainable. I think learning should be the key for us for the next years as the SCLC.
(Phumelelo Booysen)

This shift in orientation coincided with the demise of the NLC and the SCLC began to form new alliances and partnerships, seeking like-minded organisations supporting movements of the oppressed and poor and focussing on transformative rather than palliative interventions. While the SCLC and the allies with whom they engaged saw themselves as primarily supporting and strengthening people's organisations and movements they also recognised that they were not neutral in the pursuit of a just world and were part- of a broader global justice movement for transformation and social change. The SCLC began to collaborate around political education schools and popular education methods, supporting people-led campaigns, alternative media and publications, enhancing a cadre of critical leadership and strengthening organisation amongst rural workers, food producers and small-scale farmers, women and rural settlements. These new allies included Khanya College, Ilrig, ECARP and continued relationships with former NLC affiliates which shared the SCLC's transformative agenda in particular the SPP. The SCLC also cooperated with academic institutions like PLAAS providing a link to grassroots structures and voices and strengthening analysis and advocacy submissions.

TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF LAND REFORM - WHAT IMPACT?

In 1994 land reform was portrayed as the 'cutting edge' of a wide-ranging rural development programme aimed at reducing structural poverty and inequality in the countryside. Its increasing capture by a small class of aspirant black commercial farmers is symptomatic of the wider malaise in post-apartheid South Africa, in which powerful interests in business and the state attempt to substitute the 'black economic empowerment' of a few for real transformation.

In 22 years, land reform has barely altered the agrarian structure of South Africa and has had only minor impacts on rural livelihoods. Only around 9% of farmland has been transferred through restitution and redistribution, and many settled restitution claims have not been fully implemented. Post-settlement support has been absent or ineffective. The great majority of 69 000 urban restitution claims have been settled through cash compensation.

No systematic data on impacts are available via M&E data or other sources. Case study evidence suggests that around half of the rural land reform projects have brought improvements in the livelihoods of beneficiaries – but often these are quite limited. It is unclear how many recorded 'beneficiaries' still reside on or use transferred land or benefit from land reform in any way. Case study evidence from Limpopo suggests it may comprise a relatively small proportion. Institutions such as CPAs, through which land reform beneficiaries hold land in common, remain poorly supported and are often dysfunctional. Joint ventures between claimant communities and private sector partners have experienced major problems.

In 2007/8 the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) programme contributed the largest share of land acquired for redistribution but benefited mainly larger-scale beneficiary farmers. Research suggests that many PLAS beneficiaries are relatively well-off and have other business interests, but nevertheless often fail to pay rent, without this proving to be a barrier to the renewal of their leases.

Of eleven land distribution projects in the Eastern Cape two strategic partners had been issued with leases, but none had been issued to beneficiaries. Lack of tenure security was impeding access to capital and production. There was clear evidence of an elite capture of the programme, with strategic partners and mentors benefitting much more than '*beneficiaries*'.

The evidence shows that tenure reform has failed dismally. Farm owners have worked out how to evict unwanted workers within the parameters of ESTA, or to (illegally) 'buy out' their rights, and have done so in large numbers. In communal areas, the only legislation that secures the land rights of residents is the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act of 1996, which has to be renewed every year. There are increasing reports of corruption by traditional leaders in areas with minerals such as platinum, yet government remains intent on transferring communal land into the private ownership of unaccountable traditional councils under chiefs, within apartheid-era boundaries. Current policy documents explicitly empower these structures to enter into business deals with external investors, focused in particular on the common property that contributes key livelihood resources to local residents.

At the 2004 Summer School one of the young women from Jonkersberg gave a deeply moving account of her own experiences of gender-based violence. Her story highlighted the reality that when we all went home after the school she was confronted with fear and terror and how did learning more about gender power relationships actually protect her? (Angela Conway)

One of the new methodologies which the SCLC adopted was popular education and creating spaces to reflect on the root causes of poverty, oppression and discrimination. Together with the SCLC's new allies political education schools were facilitated. The political education 'schools' were powerful spaces for conscientisation and awareness raising as well as providing spaces for the sharing of struggles and enhancing people's movements. The SCLC hosted annual Summer Schools bringing together farm and forestry workers and dwellers, small-scale farmers, people with insecure tenure, rural women and including activists from other provinces and movements like the LPM and the APF.

In addition to the SCLC Summer Schools people from the Southern and Eastern Cape attended the Khanya College Winter Schools, the Ilrig Globalisation Schools and the groundWork Environmental Justice Schools. In fact Khanya's Winter School became part of the SCLC staff induction! The schools used popular education methods linking people's everyday struggles to the broader global context and raising awareness around the impact of globalisation and neoliberalism, patriarchy and skewed gender power relations, capitalism, commercial agriculture, GMOs and xenophobia. At the same time alternatives like food sovereignty, socialism and feminism were discussed. For the SCLC and the comrades who participated, the schools were a sharp learning curve as paradigms were shifted and prejudices and stereotypes challenged. The schools also provided spaces for peer to peer exchanges and building of solidarity networks and campaigns. However, the SCLC was later to shift towards including political education and awareness-raising in all events rather than once-off schools which were expensive and where some comrades had noted that while the schools shifted attitudes they did not necessarily provide solid support to local struggles. Nationally, civil society also attempted to revive mass mobilisation through a 'new UDF'. This UDF included some unions, NGOs and people's organisations. However the movement failed to attract significant support in the areas where the SCLC worked. The state responded with ever more stringent containment strategies and attacks on the working class. The conditions of workers deteriorated in the commodification process. This played itself out with an increase in casualisation, an expansion of labour brokers trading in workers and retrenchments, all of which impacted even more harshly on women workers. Class conflicts emerged along with new radical political parties like the EFF which was formed in 2013. The growing levels of repression and state-led violence against dissenting voices were starkly demonstrated in the Marikana massacre which took place on the 12 August 2012. During this incident the police opened fire on striking mine workers killing 34 workers, leaving a further 78 wounded and arresting 250. Marikana was a watershed moment resulting in cracks in the hegemony of the ANC.

Along with the engagement strategies and as a result of growing frustrations at the slow pace of land reform, formations also pursued more militant actions including protest marches, pickets and mass actions targeting municipalities and private landowners. Protestors used strategic tactics like blocking major highways and occupying government offices. The two-pronged strategy of lobbying and negotiations within government democratic spaces continued on the one hand and protest and mass action on the other.

At an intensive community level the land reform programme required that landless people organise themselves into structures to take ownership of land namely CPAs and Trusts. These structures were fraught with conflict and often resulted in the capturing of resources by an elite few, usually men. The SCLC worked in conjunction with community leadership structures, often with the advice of the LRC, to design participatory institutional arrangements including both customary and western law, in contrast to the top down generic models promoted by government officials. These institutional arrangements were aimed at protecting

the rights of the vulnerable sectors such as women, as well as ensuring the sustainability of natural resources. With the rise in HIV infections the SCLC also embarked on a process of building internal and external capacity around the root causes of HIV and ways to combat the spread of the virus. From the start the SCLC recognised that HIV was linked to poverty and one-sided power relations. Thus while SCLC disseminated information around the virus, issues of transformation were also discussed.

We kept an element of surprise by mobilising people in Power Town very early in the morning of 16 January 2006 to shut the N2. While it was still dark we went door to door to mobilise each household. In that way before the authorities knew it we had shut the highway. They had to make us promises of service provision in order to get the road open. (Power Town Committee Member)

At the same time the SCLC prioritised networks and alliance building. The strategy was to build alliances at a national level. Thus, the SCLC remained part of the NLC and worked with other civil society and academic organisations such as PLAAS to influence policy.

A reflection of the SCLC's involvement in project implementation and technical planning was that the Chairperson of the Board at the time was George Gerber director of the engineering firm Liebenberg and Stander.

The district forums and local community structures secured a number of successes (also see Chapter 4 and 7):

- As a result of the high levels of organisation the Southern Cape was selected as a national pilot site for redistribution. In 1997 the communities of Brandwacht and Toekoms secured land for agriculture and houses to the benefit of some 270 households. The transfer of this land was hailed as a national success and received wide media coverage with the transfer celebration attended by the then Minister of Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom, as well as other national dignitaries including the then leader of the PAC, Patricia de Lille. The slogan of the day was 'Hand in hand we got our land' indicative of the collaborative intension.
- Buisplaas is a settlement on the eastern bank of the Gouritz River. This land, some 94,4 hectares in extent, is where the Buises or their descendants have been living since 1838. Although some first-time visitors might describe the place as bleak, the locals have a positive sense of place and a strong bond with their land. It is the fact that they own the land - and that they managed to hold on to it in spite of apartheid: a 'coloured' island in a white group area: 'There is nothing more beautiful than what you own' - Jack Buis

Frederick Petrus du Buis (1768-1838), younger brother of the notorious Coenraad de Buys, farmed on Buffelsdrift on the Gouritz and married and had five children with Sophia Maria Vivier. However he also had two sons, Saul and Simson (Sim/Sem) by a woman, Klaris. The land, which is portion 1 of the original farm Buffelsdrif 191 was eventually transferred into the names of Sem and Saul and finally to only Sem in 1884. He and his partner Maria Tarentaal had six children and successive generations inherited the land. Legal transfer did not always take place and the shares became increasingly more complicated a sixth, an eighteenth and a thirty-six share. Today some descendants even 'own' a 1/72 share!

Only a few of the Buisplaas people now have an undivided share registered in their name and one of the continual challenges for the community has been the principles of communal *vis a vis* individual ownership of land. Furthermore, some 70%-plus of the Buis descendants are in diaspora.

From the outset, Buisplaas was ignored and neglected by every level of government and for long by most NGO's or development agencies. To compound their problems the boundaries of their land is in dispute with neighbouring farmers; the essential, for irrigation, flow of water of the Gouritz River has all but ceased; soil erosion of the irrigable land (never overly fertile at any rate) is in an advanced stage; the aloe crop has been largely decimated, ravaged by insects and fungus - and hence aloe tapping is no longer an important source of income; without freehold tenure loans cannot be obtained and housing remains a problem; and job opportunities remain wanting, especially given Buisplaas' relatively remote location. As has always been the case with such

communities, the SCLC took up their cause and became directly involved.

The erstwhile director Angela Conway attended Buisplaas meetings, *inter alia* that of the Buisplaas Development Committee. The 'Buisplaas Bewonersvereniging' met regularly (under the chairmanship of Attie Joseph) - there was concern about a 'lack of development'. The Department of Land Affairs was drawn into the process, as were the Mossel Bay Municipality and the Regional Services Council.

Research projects, appraisals and submissions were also commissioned or done:

> 'The Left-Over People', Joanne Thesen (1993);
> 'Socio-economic appraisal, Buisplaas 9-10 May 1993 (SCLC); 'Submission to Department of Public Works and Land Affairs' (SCLC, 1993); etc.

For example, the Thesen project was a sound research undertaking which brought to the fore key issues which served as markers for a developmental process. For a time there was a clear indication that some matters started receiving attention, that some developments were initiated. Currently though, frustration has again set in, the private and communal gardens are not functional, the housing and land ownership concerns have not been satisfactorily resolved. The new chair of the committee, Ralie Philander, is thus still facing formidable challenges. [A University of South Africa PhD student is currently doing intensive research on, and among the Buisplaas community, so the expectation is that pressing matters will once more inform the land and development issues].

People still remember a song their parents and grandparents taught them:

Die wind kan waai
Die stof kan trek
Maar Buisplaas
Bly 'n jolly plek

(The wind and dust may blow but Buisplaas remains a jolly place).

- The 75 Sewefontein (Zeewenfontein) farm dwellers took transfer of the Sewefontein farm. This was the first time that farm workers and dwellers in the area had benefitted through redistribution (see chapter 7).

- A number of restitution claims were 'settled' although the majority of claimants, many of whom had waited for more than 10 years, opted for cash compensation. This was primarily due to the prioritisation of cash settlements by the RLCC which encouraged claimants to accept cash compensation which was administratively much easier to settle. The SCLC undertook research into the Covie and the Lakes/Vleie claims and supported claimant's mobilisation strategies as far as making presentations in Parliament resulting in both claims, which the RLCC had initially rejected, being accepted as legitimate. The Covie and Dysselsdorp claims were of the few land claims in the region to be settled. At the same time the SKKLRF mobilised to successfully prevent Souweisa, a prime piece of coastal land under claim, from being developed.

- The forestry settlements of Karatara, Kwaaibrand and Die Blaar were transferred to the relevant local authorities who took responsibility for service provision and up-grading of infrastructure. Karatara, a previously all-white welfare settlement, was expanded to accommodate the first retirement village for black forestry workers who had previously been faced with eviction when they retired. The Gracia village and adjoining agricultural land was transferred to the Garcia Community Trust and the Mossel Bay municipality agreed to take responsibility for service provision in Jonkersberg.

- Transnet settlements which, within the restructuring of the railway system, had found themselves in a kind of no-man's land with both the railway corporate and local municipalities refusing to take responsibility for services, successfully mobilised for inclusion into municipalities. This was a major victory as the municipalities had resisted taking responsibility for small, rural settlements siting the high cost of service provision. Transnet settlements which won the victory

of inclusion into municipalities and upgrading included Matjiesfontein, Rosmead and Glenconnor, all of which secured significant budget for upgrading of services, housing and infrastructure. Other smaller settlements like Prince Albert Rd and Nelspoort Station managed to resist the removal into urban townships and continued to enjoy the rural lifestyle which they prized so highly.

- One of the primary challenges confronting farm dwellers was evictions. Farm workers and dwellers' tenure and labour rights are interlinked, thus when a worker lost his/her job they also lost their homes. Women, whose tenure rights are usually linked to those of their male partners, are particularly vulnerable being evicted from their homes when their partner was fired or resigned. These evictions were harsh and entire families would be left homeless and sometimes stranded on the side of the road. Thus the mobilisation strategy focused on securing tenure for farm workers and dwellers and in 1997 ESTA was promulgated. ESTA was a victory in that farmers were no longer able to just evict dwellers, but ESTA failed to prevent evictions only regulating the manner in which evictions could take place. Another victory of ESTA was the lifelong right of longterm occupiers (over 60 and residing on the land for more than 10 years). However women's rights are not adequately protected by ESTA which regulates that women can be evicted 12 months after the death of their spouse even if he was a longterm occupier. The SCLC was part of the national initiative to gather evidence around evictions and the dissemination of information to farm dwellers of their rights according to ESTA (see chapter 6).

- The informal settlements of Power Town, Wilderness Heights and Kleinkrantz secured services in the form of additional water points and electrification.

- In 2004 after intense mobilisation, Nelspoort was accepted as part of the Beaufort West Municipality and the adjoining experimental farm was transferred to the Beaufort West Municipality on condition that it was used to the benefit of the community. A process of town establishment began. The Western Cape Provincial Government provided a budget of R11 million for upgrading and development, 218 houses were built, roads were tarred, a sports stadium was erected, high rise lighting installed, water systems upgraded and the Nelspoort hospital, which had been threatened with closure, was reprieved.

- The co-option of leaders was to emerge as one of the challenges facing rural communities in the course of the SCLC's work. The leadership capacity enhancement often resulted in strong and outspoken leaders who were targeted by government departments, in particular municipalities.

The Nelspoort victory was due to mass community mobilisation and protesting. As a result of these actions a Provincial Task Team was established consisting of Provincial Government Departments, community leaders and the Beaufort West Municipality. The leadership of Nelspoort were so strong that government departments and institutions referred to them as 'Parliament'. Strategies employed were development of collectiveness and one voice and strengthening local structures to own the struggles. Particular emphasis was placed on women's empowerment and the publishing of the book of women's stories was one of the highlights. As a result of SCLC's involvement things were well organised. Two of the community leaders empowered in the process went on to become councillors.
(Anghenick Jonas, Chairperson of the Vuyani Development Trust)

Nelspoort

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITIES, CAMPAIGNS AND ORGANISATIONS

In the places that the SCLC worked and the communities that were drawn into the ambit of their endeavours, the core focus remained raising awareness around rights and the root causes of dispossession but also consistently to facilitate and enhance organisation and mobilisation. Continued intensive involvement with communities progressively brought more experience which in turn led to awareness of alternative strategies. The emphasis on conscientisation and political education resulted in a number of campaigns emerging.

One of the strengths of the campaigns was that they strengthened solidarity and expanded mobilisation beyond the immediate needs and struggles of the specific sectors. This was in line with national trends and organising strategies where growing levels of frustration and increasing disillusionment with the neoliberal agenda of the ANC government saw a rise in service delivery protests and the emergence of more radical organisations such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum. [4]

GUARDIANS OF THE GARDEN ROUTE (GOG)

This campaign was launched to challenge the trend of rampant development, particularly of prime coastal land, which compounded patterns of spatial apartheid, resulted in evictions, aggravated food insecurity through the conversion of agricultural land and cut people off from traditional fishing, spiritual and recreation sites. GoG's founding statement rejected non-transformative development driven by greed and promoted people-driven, transformative development. The GoG campaign was recognised nationally, up to the Office of the President, as unique in that it brought landless and poor people together with environmentalists who were in the main landed and wealthy. This recognition resulted in GoG receiving a gold award for conservation in 2005. One of the strengths of the campaign was the technical expertise which environmentalist organisations brought to engage with EIA processes and other technical aspects of development which was complimented by the mass mobilisation and social justice demands of the poor and landless who used the opportunity to raise awareness around ongoing dispossession and exclusion.

The GoG specifically targeted the mushrooming trend in the Southern Cape of developing huge golf estates which gobbled up vast tracts of prime land, were extremely water hungry and excluded and even disposed local people. By 2004 there were 82 golf courses along the coast between Cape Town and the Garden Route and 22 large golf estates with applications for a further 33 estates in the pipeline, mainly on the Garden Route. The promises around the so-called trickle-down effect of employment and wealth generation were minimal in comparison to the negative impacts and did not materialise anyway.

The potential of the GoG to undermine accumulation of profits and interrupt the capitalist agenda attracted some strong resistance and attempts at intimidation were rife. Some of this opposition came from former political allies who were investing in the developments under the pretext of 'it's our time now'. One of the biggest planned developments, the R1,1bn Lakes Eco Golf Estate, had major investors like the then deputy president's husband. Developers maximized on opportunities to divide solidarity making grand promises to individual community leaders and feeding divisions. Firm comrades who had led the struggle for transformation were co-opted to promote the benefits of development. Other struggles which the GoG took on were mobilising for continued access to beaches where local people had traditionally fished and celebrated high days and holidays.

Although the GoG enjoyed wide support among the working class it was also the first time that the SCLC took its own stand and spoke as an organisation committed to social justice, sometimes in opposition to the comrades with

4 The APF was launched in 2000 uniting affiliates from unions, students, left wing political groups and primarily township-based organisations. While the APF described itself as an anti-capitalist organisation the primary focus of its campaigns was around the immediate struggles of Gauteng township residents, in particular evictions and cut-offs. The APF was active for 10 years.

whom SCLC worked. A further challenge was that for the first time SCLC found itself aligned with potentially conservative allies. The organisation remained true to the call for transformation as central to the campaign rather than using GoG to maintain the *status quo*. The extent of the media coverage both local and national, recorded in a number of scrapbooks in the SCLC office, is evidence of the wide impact of the campaign. The GoG celebrated some major victories including the stopping of two huge elite developments planned for the Southern Cape, namely, as we mentioned, the Lakes Eco Golf Estate and also the Lagoon Bay Lifestyle Resort. By 2009 the development of golf estates had largely been stopped both as a result of the so-called financial crash and the resistance, and the GoG campaign faded. However the SCLC had now entered into the environmental justice debate which was a new direction for the organisation.

The environmentalists in the core group were vastly enlightened and more informed after the GoG campaign. We understood that people without a decent livelihood were never going to care about luxuries like the environment. But through the GoG, we did meet the wise old men of the forests, who did love nature and the environment. For many of us what was especially enlightening was that poor people, living sustainably, were still being unfairly evicted off the land they had lived on for generations. New owners of forestry land, multinational corporations, were trying to evict whole rural communities. We had no idea there was still so much land crime happening in the new SA. I hope we also managed to highlight the injustice of that, not just elitist golf estates stealing fishermen's paths. It was much more alarming than any of us could ever have imagined. Sadly, I do believe this sort of thing has not stopped, although the golf estate business has dried up.

The major victory of the GoG was that we created awareness, that we helped slow down the rampant and elitist development that was spreading fast. The many different actual protest marches were energising experiences and we got to meet people from rural communities with completely different challenges as a result of the same problems. It gave us perspective on the challenges to uplift local disadvantaged communities and to protect their heritage at the same time. (Marylou Newdigate, GoG member and activist)

Golf course developments were only for a small group of rich people. But they want our votes to get plans approved. When they get it, only a small group of our people can go there to sweep and clean but most of us are locked out. We see it as a type of Volkstaat. The sea has been fenced off and now the mountains will be fenced off. (Oom Japie Songqayi, Forestry Indaba and GoG activist)

We are not anti government. We are not anti development. We are here to defend our country against the invasion of greed and unplanned development that promotes racism and social divide. (Lawrence Mlanjeni, Qolweni leader)

The GoG came to an end as it was difficult to get everyone together for meetings as many members were without transport and we all lived far apart. The meetings we did have were hosted and arranged with SCLC assistance and help, they played a pivotal role on the admin and organization of the GoG, throughout the campaign years. Maybe the financial meltdown affected us all. We all had to work harder and had less time for protesting? (Marylou Newdigate)

The Guardians of the Garden Route (GoG)

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CONVERSION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND FOR ELITE DEVELOPMENTS LIKE GAME FARMS.

This campaign overarched the GoG and such processes resulted in the eviction of farm dwellers whose lifestyles and skills were not considered congruent with tourism ventures targeting the rich and which compounded incommensurate land ownership patterns. Farm dwellers in the Eastern Cape were particularly vulnerable, losing their jobs and homes and being forced, often as a result of a 'voluntary' agreement and a small financial compensation, to relocate to urban townships. At the same time more land was rezoned from agriculture, and developed for tourism making it still more difficult for small-scale farmers to access. SCLC supported farm dwellers and small-scale farmers in mobilising and collecting case studies to support submissions highlighting the negative impact of the ongoing conversion of agricultural land. The ECARP also took up this issue and solidarity actions took place across the Eastern Cape Province. One of the highlights was a march of some 500 landless people, predominantly farm dwellers, in the Eastern Cape in August 2007 followed by a land summit later in the year. In response the then MEC for Land in the Eastern Cape, Minister Nkwinti, publically spoke of the conversion and development of agricultural land as a form of 're-colonisation' and warned of Zimbabwe-style invasions unless proactive land redistribution took place.

One of the advocacy strategies in the campaign was to call for a restriction on foreign land ownership. In response the government established a task team to investigate the impact of foreign land ownership. At the 2005/2006 hearings on foreign land ownership in which the SCLC participated, people gave moving testimonies of their frustrations at not being able to access land for homes, food production and livelihoods, while all around them land was sold to and developed for elite recreational purposes, often by foreign investors.

The call was for a moratorium on foreign land ownership and a prioritising of redistribution of land to indigenous peoples.

The trend of converting agricultural land for conservation purposes was also taken up, particularly in the Baviaanskloof, where the development of the Baviaanskloof Mega Reserve was resulting in farm dweller evictions and threatening the entire community of Coleske who were of the first inhabitants of the Kloof. The SCLC supported the Coleske in their struggles to be included in the reserve and to resist relocation into urban townships. Research was undertaken into opportunities for livelihoods, housing and service provision and used to lobby for the Coleskes to be included in the reserve. The result was that the Coleske residents are still living in the reserve.

THE BLACK THURSDAY LAND CAMPAIGN

This campaign was launched to coincide with the 100-year anniversary of the promulgation of the infamous Natives Land Act of 1913 on Thursday 19 June, 1913 and which made it illegal for black people to own or even lease land outside of the proclaimed 'Bantustans'. Under the slogan 'Mawubuye Umhlaba Wethu!' the campaign raised awareness around the impact of historical and ongoing dispossession. To raise awareness and popularise the campaign Black Thursday T-shirts were symbolically worn every Thursday. This campaign was adopted by the TA collective and thus became a national campaign. The call was explicit uniting women and men across all sectors, 'GIVE US BACK OUR LAND!' The campaign is ongoing and the T-shirts have been used in support of other demands and campaigns.

THE ANTI-FRACKING AND ENERGY SOVEREIGNTY

The campaigns discussed thus far were eventually to inform environmental justice campaigns such as this one in particular. In 2012 the Karoo was earmarked as having potential for shale gas development. The option was to exploit naturally occurring methane, liberated from deep shale layers through horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing technologies ('fracking'). A number of international companies made application for exploratory licences, the largest being the Dutch based multi-national, Shell. Small-scale farmers, farm workers and indigenous groups began to organise themselves to challenge the non-transparent manner in which the fracking developments were progressing. The SCLC facilitated exchanges and links with international movements which had experienced the extremely harsh impact of fracking, in particular Milleudefensie and Friends of the Earth based in the Netherlands. In May 2013 a dialogue took place in Steytlerville in the Eastern Cape under the banner 'Fracking and Agrarian Transformation' which brought together small-scale farmers, farm dwellers, agro-ecological producers and civil society organisations, both national and international. The dialogue reflected on the environmental and social impact of the extractive industry and particularly fracking and ended with the publishing of a joint statement.

This initial dialogue ignited the anti- fracking campaign. The campaign raised awareness around issues of environmental and social justice and called for agrarian transformation and control over natural resources, especially water. The campaign successfully mobilised people across all sectors including indigenous groupings and faith-based institutions and forged alliances with international movements. For the SCLC this opened up a whole new arena of strategic partners in the environmental justice sector including groundWork, Earth Life, the Eastern Cape Environmental Coalition, faith based organisations like Justice and Peace and SAFCEI, and indigenous groupings, in particular the Khoekhoe community, the Inqua.[5] Internationally the campaign was supported by Friends of the Earth. The campaign reflected the growing global movement to challenge the destructive nature of the extractive industry.

In South Africa a number of people's organisations were emerging in response to the expansion of mining activities (increasingly referred to as the new wave of colonisation in Africa) and the impact on people's tenure, health and livelihoods. To build solidarity nationally amongst communities whose lives had been impacted upon by the extractive industry and to support environmental justice social movements, links were made with organisations like the SA Green Revolution Council and the Vaal and Highveld Environmental Justice Alliances. Through the SCLC's partnership with Bread for World, the SCLC was introduced to organisations throughout Southern Africa struggling against the wave of mining and the extraction of natural resources. Once again one of the challenges was the perceived conservative nature of some of the groupings opposing fracking (AgriForum and TKAG in particular) and again the SCLC stood with local communities in linking the anti-fracking campaign with demands for agrarian transformation and social justice.

2013 Anti Fracking National Meeting in Steytlerville

5 Also known as the Hamcumqua, they were historically known as a powerful people and their domain stretched beyond the Groot Winterhoek Mountains toward Jansenville and Graaff-Reinet.

One of the paradoxes of the environmental campaign was that farm workers found themselves for the first time 'on the same side' and sharing platforms with commercial farmers and which was a shift in power relations.

Developers tried to undermine opposition by employing local influential people, inflating promises of employment and hailing fracking as a development opportunity for the economically depressed Karoo. The SCLC staff and anti-fracking activists were harassed, intimidated and accused of trying to maintain the *status quo* in the Karoo. To combat these divisive strategies and ensure grassroots support to the campaign, anti-fracking task teams were established in local municipalities which had been earmarked for fracking. These task teams led the campaign at a local level rejecting fracking and calling for transformative development which would provide sustainable employment, enhance local skills and protect the precious natural resources of the Karoo, especially water.

Our struggle in the Karoo is embedded in responding to three challenges: ensuring an agro-ecology based on agrarian reform and food sovereignty; securing the Karoo's scarce water resources; and ensuring that people have a direct say in how energy is produced and used in the Karoo through the approach of energy sovereignty. (Fracking dialogue statement; 2013)

Strategies used by the task teams to strengthen the campaign included awareness-raising through distribution of fliers and door to door visits, exchange visits to other communities who had experienced the negative impact of the extractive industry and disseminating theoretical information around the fracking process and the negative environmental and social impact. In addition, information was disseminated around alternative and sustainable sources of energy and the concept of energy sovereignty. These strategies were followed by protest marches, pickets outside Shell offices, presentations to parliamentarians and to the Eastern Cape Office of the Premier, making input to public participation processes, media articles and applying international pressure, particularly on Shell.

The highlight of the campaign was when in March 2015 Shell announced they would no longer 'aggressively pursue' their application for an exploratory licence for fracking. Although some observers saw in this the quiet demise of the fracking developments in the Karoo, the government recently announced its intentions to the contrary. In 2016 the anti-fracking task teams united to form the Karoo Environmental Justice Movement to combat yet another threat from the extractive industry in the Karoo, namely uranium mining. One of the strategies of the KEJM together with the SCLC is to organise annual environmental justice platforms bringing together movements, communities and NGOs involved in the struggle against the destructive impact of the extractive industry and towards energy sovereignty.

In 2009, in response to the collapse of the National Land Committee, the failure of land reform and the absence of a social movement mobilising for agrarian transformation, the SCLC was part of the initiative to form a national civil society platform, namely Tshintsha Amakhaya. The SCLC was a founder member of TA and was instrumental in defining the vision and focus of the collective. Tshintsha Amakhaya (improving livelihoods in isiZulu) is an alliance of rural women and men supported by ten NGO affiliates in accessing rights to land, water, food, basic services and strengthening livelihoods primarily through small-scale agriculture. The TA collective includes diverse rural formations from a wide geographic spread representing women and men, smallholder farmers, food gardeners, livestock keepers, farm workers and dwellers, forestry workers and dwellers, fisherfolk, families living under communal tenure and on church land, and land reform beneficiaries. The supporting civil society organizations have a heterogeneous focus with long-standing experience in agrarian reform and strengthening the rights of rural women and men. One such campaign was that against fracking in the Great Karoo.

It is significant that the SCLC's endeavours with regard to the anti-fracking lobby, as well as those of other organisations, particularly NGO's, are acknowledged in a recent scientific Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) (Scholes *et al*, 2016). The report, published in two volumes and on CD, comprises 18 chapters drafted by 146 authors and peer reviewed by a further 75 independent national and international experts and also by stakeholders in the process. An independent undertaking, it is the largest scientific assessment ever undertaken in South Africa and has set a national precedent on how strategic issues of great importance and consequence should be dealt with if critical development choices are to be guided by evidence-based policies.

Karoo Environmental Justice Movement (KEJM)

The TA helps to amplify local struggles, connect NGOs and local formations across the rural spectrum, forges solidarity, unity and voice. It allows these formations to mobilise support for their cause and find allies that can help leverage opportunities for change from local to national level. SCLC recognized the potential of the TA as national platform for change from the start in 2010, and has actively contributed and pursued a common purpose. The SCLC has turned their events for farm workers, farm-dwellers, and small producers into national platform events, opening it up to the TA affiliation. They also led the resistance against fracking, sharing up to date information and thus keeping the TA relevant as civil society voice. (Monique Salomon; TA Coordinator 2010 – 2017)

Karoo Anti-Fracking Activists protesting in Johannesburg

SHALE GAS DEVELOPMENT IN THE CENTRAL KAROO
A SCIENTIFIC ASSESSMENT OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS

The Central Karoo is an arid, extensive landscape, experienced by many people as a sanctuary of austere but captivating beauty. At the same time, the people who live in the region are mostly poor - high levels of unemployment and inequality characterise the local economies and social fabric. South Africa is investigating the opportunities for introducing more natural gas into the predominantly coal-dominated energy mix. One option is to exploit naturally occurring methane, liberated from deep shale layers in the Central Karoo through horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing technologies ('fracking'). Very little is known about the distribution and magnitude of the gas resource, or whether it can be extracted at economically viable rates. If shale gas development were found to be economically viable, the economic and energy security opportunities of a medium to large shale gas resource would be substantial; as would be the social and environmental risks associated with a gas industry in the Central Karoo. This has been presented to the public and decision-makers as a stark choice between economic opportunity on the one hand an environmental protection on the other. It has become a highly divisive topic, but one which has been, up to now, poorly informed by publically available and trusted evidence. To address this lack of critically evaluated information a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) for shale gas development was commissioned in 2015.

Particularly apposite for the SCLC's field of operations are the following contributions:

- Impacts on the environment (various chapters)
- Impacts on social fabric (Atkinson, Schenk, Matebesi and Badenhorst - Chapter 11)
- Impacts on sense of place values (Seeliger, De Jongh and Morris - Chapter 13)
- Impacts on heritage (Orton, Almond, Clarke and Fisher - Chapter 15).

THE FOOD SOVEREIGNTY CAMPAIGN

Launched in 2008, this campaign was part of a growing national and international movement for food sovereignty led by La Via Campesina and was launched in response to the increasing commodification of food as a means of generating profits rather than a basic human right. The result is a food system which is unjust, unkind and unsustainable, created and perpetuated by structural inequalities and dominated by corporate power. The symptoms were and are evident and demonstrated by climate change and the lack of agrarian transformation resulting in escalating food prices, increases in diet-related illnesses like diabetes and increasing poverty and hunger. The experiences of people on the ground were to be born out by the 2014 Oxfam report, Hidden Hunger in SA, which contained shocking information that half the population, especially women, were at risk of going hungry. In response the government facilitated a series of 'Food Dialogues' aimed at seeking ways to strengthen food security. However civil society challenged the focus on food security calling for food sovereignty including control over and ownership of food production, distribution and consumption.

The Food Sovereignty Campaign united all sectors, food is central to life and everyone identified with the imperative to take ownership over food. Women, in particular, as the primary care-givers responsible for feeding their families, resonated with the call for food sovereignty. The campaign sought to:

Raise awareness around the benefits of, and enhance capacity for agro-ecological food production which is sustainable and builds on traditional production methods.

- Mobilise for more equitable access to the means of production through agrarian transformation - access to land, control over water and the protection and exchange of indigenous seed

- Raise awareness around the effects of discrimination against women within the agricultural environment and the effectiveness of women food producers in combating hunger and poverty while mobilising for women to have improved access to resources and decision-making power.

- Enable exchanges between producers who are using ecological methods of production to share ideas, exchange seed and produce and explore possibilities for cooperative production for local markets.

- Advocate for a change in policy towards redistribution of land and natural resources and support for food producers through regulation of the markets and the promotion of ecological methods of food production.

- Lobby relevant state departments such as the Department of Agriculture to provide support and expertise for sustainable methods of food production.

- Explore possibilities for local markets focussing on people's needs for healthy and affordable food.

- Support movements of rural people and food producers in mobilising for sustainable alternatives.

To strengthen food sovereignty even further, the SCLC began supporting groups of people, with the majority being women, to produce food using agro-ecological methods. The SCLC's role was to raise awareness around the benefits of agro-ecological production which is affordable and environmentally sustainable, to enhance the capacity of producers through on-site 'training' and to facilitate exchanges and peer to peer learning. Model learning sites were established to serve as replicable models for other producers. In addition the SCLC provided infrastructure such as water tanks, irrigation pipes and fencing and kick-start seeds and fruit trees, resulting in the SCLC being viewed as extension officers by some producers. The agro-ecological food producers were successful in improving household food security through supplementing food from the gardens. In addition people testified to an improvement in general quality of life and health with fewer visits to the

clinic. While gardens do not generate significant income, social capital is generated with producers becoming hubs feeding crèches, clinics and old age homes. The majority of food producers used municipal land for production, with farm dwellers accessing pieces of commercial farmland.

One of the primary challenges faced by producers was and remains access to sufficient water, particularly in the dry semi-desert region of the Karoo. Producers mobilised to challenge the emphasis of the DoA on chemical-based agriculture and the promotion of GMO seed. For SCLC agro-ecological production was a revolution combating the stranglehold of commercial, chemical-based agriculture and fostering food sovereignty. To strengthen the voice of food producers and facilitate exchange of ideas, plants and seed, annual Producer Platforms were and are still organised. The platforms are attended by food producers from around the country and include raising awareness around the benefits of agro-ecological production and food sovereignty as opposed to the negative impact of commercial agriculture, demonstrations of up-scaling of produce, sharing of sustainable methods of production and exchanges of seed.

Through the food sovereignty campaign links were made with other organisations and movements like the Food Sovereignty Campaign with whom SPP works, the church and specifically the international Joining Hands Against Poverty programme of the Presbyterian church, the national TA partners and farmer associations and other national and international NGOs. SCLC recognised the transformative power of food sovereignty and the 2016 – 2018 strategic plan includes a Food Sovereignty Programme.

Willowmore Agricultural Food Security group – an agrological garden in Willowmore

Food sovereignty is the right of all people to sufficient safe, nutritious and culturally appropriate food to support the full realisation of physical and mental health. This includes access to and control over the means of production including land, water and seed to produce food sustainably. Food sovereignty is underpinned by the right of people to define agricultural, labour, food and land policies which are ecologically, socially, economically and culturally appropriate. Food sovereignty requires:

- Placing priority on food production for domestic and local markets based on small, family producers.
- Ensuring fair prices for farmers through protection of markets and supply management systems which ensure affordable and healthy food while restricting dumping of excess produce.
- Access to and control over the means of production, land, water and seed.
- Community as opposed to corporate ownership of productive resources.
- Recognition and promotion of women's role in food production and equitable access to resources.
- The protection of seeds, the basis of life, and the free exchange and use thereof - no patents on seed and a moratorium on GMOs.

Steytlerville Poultry Group

THE FAIR LABOUR CAMPAIGN

The campaign to mobilise farm workers was launched in 2010 by farm committees in five rural district municipalities. The campaign built on the growing levels of organisation amongst farm workers and dwellers who had primarily focussed their actions on combating evictions and strengthening security of tenure while at the same time raising concerns around the inadequacies of the ESTA legislation. By 2010 illegal evictions were significantly reduced although ESTA continued to give farmers the right to evict farm dwellers who had not secured longterm occupier rights, as well as widows. With the reduction in evictions and in response to the high levels of non-adherence to labour legislation farm workers began to organise around labour issues.

The SCLC collaborated with two other civil society organisations supporting farm workers, namely the CRLS and the ECARP, in order to ensure that the fair labour campaign expanded and reached the maximum number of farm workers.

The campaign was primarily aimed at the enforcement of labour legislation on farms and specifically targeted the DoL. The objectives of the campaign were to ensure legislation was adhered to, to raise awareness around human rights and labour violations and their impact on women specifically, and to mobilise farm workers and dwellers. The SCLC, with the two civil society partners, supported farm committees to compile dossiers recording cases of violations and inhumane living conditions.

These dossiers were a shocking indictment of the conditions on many commercial farms and the incidences of uncompensated injury on duty were particularly horrific.

One of the strategies of the campaign was the presentation of dossiers by workers to the relevant local and provincial offices of the Department of Labour. The handover of dossiers took place from May to July 2011 accompanied by pickets and marches in centres like Beaufort West, Koukamma, George and Graaff-Reinet.

For many farm workers this was the first time they had taken part in a mass action and it was an empowering moment.

While the DoL officials were visibly moved by the shocking evidence and the testimonies of violations and there were some follow-up inspections on farms and conditions on many farms improved, compensation for injury on duty was never forthcoming and a number of workers were left without compensation and unable to work.

The Fair Labour Campaign was strengthened through making links with farm workers from the De Doorns area who had taken part in the historic farm worker strike of 2012 which ushered in a new era for farm workers' organising and resulted in an increase of 52% on the new national minimum wage. Other strategic partners included the Casual Workers' Advice Office who shared their experiences and strategies of organising workers. At the Rural Workers' Summit of 2013 which included farm and forestry workers, 'hot spots' for violations were identified. These were based on door to door household research which farm committees had undertaken on over 400 farms and which highlighted non-adherence (up to 97% in some areas), particularly to the new minimum wage.

Workers took a decision to strengthen self-organising strategies, in particular the area farm committees, and to sharpen the campaign with a particular focus on enforcement of the Sectoral Determination for Agriculture aimed at regulating work and living conditions of farm workers and dwellers as a means to enforce the gains of the De Doorns strike. One of the strategies was to call for legal payslips which could be used to monitor payments, deductions etc. While the SCLC recognised that enforcement of legislation is not transformative, the Fair Labour Campaign provided an entry point around which farm workers and dwellers could organise.

Eastern Cape Farm Dweller Protest March

The collaboration between peri-urban farmers from Hessequa in the Southern Cape and farmers from communal areas in Okhahlamba District in rural KwaZulu-Natal was an exciting venture for all involved. These farmers with support-NGOs (i.e. the SCLC and Farmer Support Group) formed a Cluster in TA and undertook action research on smallholder farmers' access to markets. Through exchange visits, meetings, and workshops they got to know each other. Though cultures and languages were different, they shared an existence of struggling to make ends meet, and a desire to lift their families out of poverty and be thriving farmers. (Monique Saloman, TA Coordinator)

The Fair Labour Campaign thus informed the farm worker and dweller's strategy of organising through area farm committees. The farm worker sector had historically been poorly organised and vulnerable to violations with serf-like conditions prevailing on many farms and an absence of unions particularly in the rural areas. Farm workers' organising is difficult as workers often live and work on the particular farm, compounding intimidation and victimisation. Within this context the SCLC supported farm workers and dwellers to organise themselves into local and district committees. The committees were informed of their rights and the content of labour legislation and were able to monitor conditions on farms and challenge violations. The fact that workers were from a number of different farms meant that abusive employers could be confronted by workers who did not live and work on that specific farm.

In some areas farm committees formed a relationship with commercial farmer organisations/unions naming and shaming employers who did not adhere to legislation. In addition the farm committees began to challenge social factors which were recognised as being counter to organising, including gender-based violence and alcohol abuse. The committees also took up the issue of Equity Schemes which is the government's attempt to enable farm workers and dwellers to obtain shares in commercial farms. Most of these schemes failed to benefit farm workers. Committees also monitored evictions, although due to local and national pressure and the ESTA, the incidents of illegal evictions had decreased significantly. To strengthen the impact of the farm committees and encourage a united voice, Workers' Platforms are organised annually. The platforms provide space for workers to identify common struggles and share mobilisation strategies.

One of the sectors which organised at a municipal site level are small-scale farmers. In all the municipalities such farmers had organised themselves into local associations in an attempt to improve their livelihoods through agriculture. During 2002 the SCLC began to work intensively with associations of small-scale farmers. The focus was particularly on three rural municipalities, Hessequa, Baviaans and the Central Karoo District Municipality, particularly Murraysburg. The SCLC supported associations of small-scale farmers who were clustered around the small towns within the municipalities to organise themselves into municipal forums mobilised for access to land, water and markets and improved agricultural support services. To underpin mobilisation, participatory action research (PAR) was used to describe the agricultural context of the municipalities, compile profiles of small-scale farmers, identify opportunities, challenges and relevant stakeholders, and articulate joint visions and land-use plans.

Through being organised and speaking as a collective, municipal farmer forums successfully secured longterm lease agreements to commonage land with commonage agreements binding relevant roleplayers into providing the necessary support. (The LRC provided legal advice to ensure agreements were legally binding). In addition, the farmers succeeded in getting relevant by-laws changed, by forcing municipalities to evict commercial farmers from commonage land and by accessing infrastructure and extension services. In an effort to secure integrated support for small-scale agriculture the farmer forums lobbied for the establishment of multi-sectoral steering committees within each municipality, and in the Baviaans Municipality farmers developed an Integrated Community Development Plan to underpin lobbying and negotiations.

To up-scale mobilisation and enhance solidarity, national exchanges and collaborations were facilitated between farmers, especially through the TA platform. The campaigns also raised awareness around rights and the root causes of dispossession and enhanced mobilisation. Women and men were able to take up the campaigns and use them to strengthen and highlight demands. The campaigns enhanced solidarity and strengthened the voice of rural people across the various sectors, across provinces, nationally and even internationally. However the debate among civil society organisations around the sustainability of people's movements, in particular 'building' national movements, continued. While campaigns ignite mass actions and enhance solidarity there was, and there remains, an absence of a sustained movement of the poor and working class. A number of civil society organisations have attempted to launch movements but none of these have really taken off or been sustained.

SCLC remained true to the vision of mobilising and supporting grassroots organisation while at the same time constantly seeking opportunities to enhance solidarity rather than launching a movement in a top-down manner led by NGOs.

In support of the campaigns and in response to the non-transformative and conservative nature of commercial media, SCLC took up a media strategy.

Quarterly newsletters were published recording local struggles, fliers publicising campaign demands and disseminating information around topics like fracking were printed and distributed, and T-shirts highlighting demands were produced. An internal media task team was elected to drive the media strategy. Khanya College lent support through providing skills enhancement workshops in community journalism and for a time a cadre of community journalists were active. The media strategy was taken into the social media arena through the use of cellphones and platforms like facebook to maintain contact and share information. Amongst farm workers and dwellers particularly, and through the Making All Voices Count programme, social media proved effective in facilitating communication and reporting cases of violations.

One of the primary objectives of SCLC has always been to strengthen the voice of rural women and men. The political education and campaigns which had a regional focus are supported by intense work at a municipal or site level. The grass-roots work was towards developing alternative models which enhanced the rights of women, were pro-poor, people driven and environmentally sustainable.

THE SEWEFONTEIN TRUST

The SCLC also worked with the Sewefontein Trust, a redistribution project in the Baviaanskloof, where the Trust had taken ownership of the farm on behalf of 75 beneficiaries, mostly farm dwellers. The focus in Sewefontein was to support the Trust to develop institutional arrangements and farm rules which protected the natural resources of the farm and facilitated equitable benefit to the beneficiaries. The Sewefontein steering committee was established and included the local and district municipalities, the DoA and the Trust, with the SCLC in support. Through the steering committee the farm was able to secure infrastructure, machinery and resources to strengthen the agricultural activities. One of the primary challenges on Sewefontein remains how 75 families should benefit from a farm which was previously owned by one family – a typical example of market-based land reform where beneficiaries must pool their grants to afford the selling price of farms. For the SCLC the tension between mobilising outside of government and economic frameworks while at the same time engaging with government processes was always difficult to manage and was particularly apparent in the SCLC's relationship with small-scale farmers.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

In 2000 Dean van Rooyen, the dynamic director throughout the pioneer days of the organisation, resigned. The Board of Trustees had difficulty to find a suitable candidate to replace Dean and appointed Angela Conway, one of the board members who had been with the organisation since inception, as temporary director. With the reshaping of the SCLC and the shift in focus, Angela was to remain director until she retired in 2015.

When Angela Conway retired as director of the SCLC the organisation embarked on a process of appointing a new executive director. The challenge was to find someone who shared the SCLC's vision of people-led transformation. The recruitment process was participatory and created space for potential candidates to share their own analysis of the context. Roger Domingo was a unanimous choice and in 2015 Roger took over as the executive director of the SCLC with one of his first tasks being to participate in framing a new three-year strategic plan.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN & EMPOWERMENT

Throughout the SCLC's work, women empowerment was a strategic focus. The SCLC continued to raise awareness of unequal gender power relations and the impact of patriarchal attitudes and policies. The gender awareness-raising was ongoing within the organisation and with people with whom the SCLC worked. The result was an emergence of women leaders and that women became represented in all structures and women's issues were prioritised in campaigns and lobbying activities.

The SCLC recognised that agrarian transformation was not possible without the liberation of women. The SCLC further recognised that inequalities are both structural and attitudinal and that any programme focused on addressing inequality would have to target oppressive structural and political frameworks as well as raising consciousness and shifting patriarchal attitudes and behaviour.

The SCLC's gender journey has been both internal and with women and men with whom the SCLC works. The SCLC's gender statement commits the organization to 'combatting skewed power relations and fostering gender equality by ensuring equal opportunities and participation for staff and raising awareness around skewed gender power relations towards promoting gender equality'. From the beginning the SCLC facilitated internal gender awareness-raising events which deeply impacted on individuals and on the organisation as a whole. The SCLC staff have always been primarily women.

While the SCLC recognised that mainstreaming gender is important, the organisation has also realised that if the SCLC was to ensure women's issues remained central, it was necessary to specifically articulate the emancipatory practice which the SCLC would explore with women and reflect on all strategies through a 'feminist lens'. The 2007 strategic plan included specific gender indicators for all programmes and was supported by a Gender Awareness guidebook for facilitators. Towards strengthening women's voice the SCLC began to create separate spaces where women felt free to share their issues and which are often silenced in a group where men are present. At women's request the SCLC facilitated sessions around gender-based violence and linked women with organisations which had the specific skills to provide support in challenging GBV. Through these engagements women leaders emerged. One of the unexpected consequences was a backlash from some men, both in the home and within community structures. Hence, the SCLC realised that it was important to raise gender consciousness amongst both women and men.

The SCLC commits ourself to equality, respect and dignity in our words and actions with women and men. (SCLC Gender Statement, 2013)

Towards strengthening rural women's livelihoods, combatting rural isolation and marginalisation and strengthening security of tenure in 2005, the SCLC supported 11 women from diverse rural settlements in launching the Mother of Creation homestay route. The objectives of the MoC were to create public awareness around issues confronting rural people, strengthen women's financial independence and enhance solidarity amongst women. While the MoC was not very successful in attracting sufficient tourists to generate significant income, women working as a collective proved powerful. Spaces were made to discuss challenges confronting women and to share strategies which strengthened women's power. The women were able to share and support each other at a deep level. By 2008, recognising that tourism was not the SCLC's core business, the MoC received funding from Fair Trade Tourism SA and began to be supported by local tourism offices.

In 2013 the SCLC secured a grant from the Joint Gender Fund specifically focussed on combatting systematic discrimination against women on farms and the high levels of gender-based violence. This played itself out in women's insecure tenure, casualisation of women workers, exclusion of women from decision-making processes, teenage pregnancies and physical and mental abuse. The programme was piloted amongst women in the Avontuur farming district. Despite the high levels of intimidation, both from employers and male partners, a number of young women leaders emerged with strong, brave voices standing

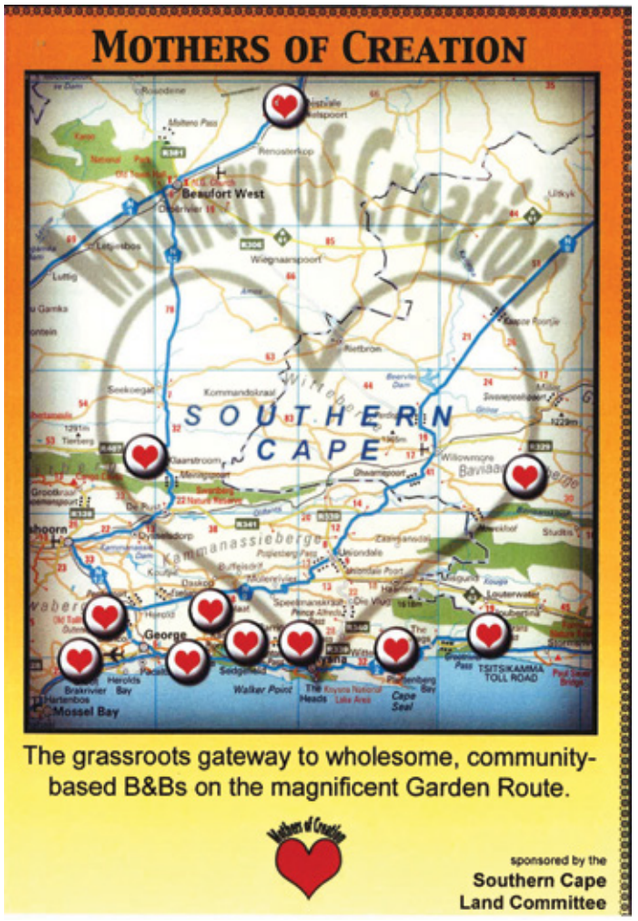
for equality.

Towards strengthening women's movements, SCLC together with rural women participated in national women's events and campaigns, in particular the Rural Women's Assembly, which is a national and sub-regional movement of women. Women took up issues of transformation, in particular food sovereignty. While women were encouraged by the national networking, their emphasis remained on strengthening the voice of women in local struggles and formations.

SCLC's gender strategy also confronts prejudices and discrimination against diverse sexuality and gender fluidity, challenging prejudices and stereotypes.

When we are together as MoC I feel as if I have been in church, there is a Spirit amongst us (Aunty Rene; Covie leader and member of MoC)

MoC is not simply another tour. Tourists will wonder at the resilience of people who were oppressed and dispossessed and enjoy the fruit of their struggles with them. They will meet the rocks of the nation, her women, with their stories, skills and tears.... Lives will be changed forever. (Media coverage at the MoC launch 17 March 2005 which was hosted by MoC members at Karatara)



WOMEN - AGENTS FOR EMPOWERMENT

Haarlem is a small hamlet located in the Langkloof. This small community relies mostly on the neighbouring farms for employment. Women are employed on a seasonal basis, leaving them unemployed for half of the year. A group of women in Haarlem came together to form what is today known as the Haarlem Vroue Vereniging. The Association consists of women representatives from various community organisations in Haarlem, including Churches, LandCo, Neighbourhood Watch, Sport associations and the municipality. The Association unites diverse interests under one umbrella, to stimulate cooperation between, and the empowerment of, women in Haarlem.

The Association was formed in 2014, and in the past three years it went from a rocky start to an empowering space for women in the Haarlem community.

The Association developed a clear focus and direction and its members began to actively implement programmes in the community.

In 2015 however, a female farm worker was gruesomely murdered in the neighbouring town of Avontuur and because of this the SCLC reached out to the Association to render support.

This murder also caused the Association to become more alert, and as a result, led to mass mobilisation around confronting gender-based violence in their communities. Bridget, one of the women who played a key role in the Association's journey lends a personal touch to their story of success:

Haarlem Vroue Vereniging was founded in October 2014. It was initiated by the Department of Rural Development, who wanted to bring rural women closer to each other. After we formed, in the first few months, nothing happened. You can say it was stillborn. There were no activities from the Department. We then decided to get together on our own, and brainstormed around the questions: Where do we want to go? Why do we as various organisations want to work together? We came up with various ideas. We identified social issues as an important area. And the economic issue, because women in our community are mainly seasonal workers, and basically only work six months of the year. We asked ourselves how we can address their needs for the remaining six months. And then, capacity building: our women lacked confidence to take leadership within community organisations. In most cases, they nominated a man for a leadership position. The empowerment of our women was a big must. Women in the community started gaining confidence in us, because they saw that here is a group of women in the community who care about them. Women came to talk to us, and we developed trust with them. The SCLC contacted us in 2015, because there was a cruel rape and murder in one of our neighbouring towns. The SCLC knew of us because of previous conversations. They asked us how we could help the women in Avontuur, and if we wanted to come on board. For we were closer to the town, and this is how we became involved with the the SCLC. We realised that we had to become more involved with fighting GBV. And we began tackling it in all earnest. The SCLC exposed us to workshops on this issue, and then we also amalgamated with Avontuur, leading to us becoming an even bigger group.

At our first SCLC workshop, we also met women from other towns. At that workshop, we heard the women's stories; people acknowledged outright that they were HIV-sufferers. It was the first time that the women from Haarlem were exposed to such a conversation. And this led our own women to also start talking about their experiences. The SCLC created a safe space for us as women to open up. Being with other women who went through similar issues gave our women courage to do this. This was really a major experience for us. (Bridget)

Haarlem Women Protest

Rural Women's Platform 2017, George

Because of the SCLC, we started with awareness campaigns in the community. We went door to door to inform women about their rights. Our work really took off. We also shared what we learned at the SCLC workshops with other women. Because of the exposure, we became aware of issues we previously ignored, or didn't know how to look for. We had a bit of tunnel vision then. But through the exposure, we also realised that communities need each other.

The SCLC also started a Women's Platform, and now we are an even bigger group of women. And at this Platform, we had the same chain reaction as at that first workshop. Women bonded with each other. We now have a big network of women in the rural towns.

And we can see the change in women's lives. The women now know that they can reach out to us. And we feel the same about the SCLC. We can reach out to them, and they to us.

Gender-based violence is everywhere, and women are the targets! The spring school unlocked another door to me. Now we no longer just think about responding, but also advocating for prevention. We learned how to raise people's awareness. So much so, that the Association could take things to the next level: just last month we organised a march to the George Magistrate Court. See, GBV cases keep being postponed, and because we have rotating judges, there is no consistency in how the cases are dealt with. We marched because we asked not only for cases to be dealt with, but to get a permanent judge for our area.

There is a difference in how we operated when we were on our own, and how we operate now since the SCLC came on board. And it is nice to know that you have people who are there if you need them. With SCLC, we know that we have a support structure, and this motivates us. The SCLC not only stands for awareness, but also for mobilisation. Because see, we need each other. And the SCLC is there if we need them, they keep us informed about what is happening beyond Haarlem. With them, you don't have to wonder, they always inform you. And that is what makes working with them so easy. (Bridget)

Bridget considers that it was by virtue of the workshops and the exposure the SCLC gave their Association that it became possible to begin mobilising others in their community.

Personally, she was given the opportunity through the SCLC to attend a Spring School and this experience helped to ignite the Association's activism against gender-based violence.

She quite simply feels that the SCLC's involvement with their Association made a generally positive contribution to their work.

WOMEN - CLAIMING LAND

Twenty years after the approval of their land claim, community members of the settlement of Brandwag, on the outskirts of Mossel Bay, vividly remember the day they received the title deed to redistributed land in Brandwag.[6]

Former farm workers who were forcibly evicted from farms in the area during Apartheid, could return and take ownership of houses for the first time in their lives.

Two women who played an active role in the civic organisation that campaigned for the return of the land, are Virginia and Johanna. Both were born and raised on farms in the Brandwag area. Virginia was forcibly evicted in the 1970s from the farm where she and her husband worked, whilst Johanna's family faced a similar fate, until they settled on another farm in the area in 1969.

Virginia explains that during Apartheid, farm workers had no tenure security on the farms around Brandwag, and that this motivated them to take up the fight to regain the land they were evicted from. Thus in 1993, the farm worker community around Brandwag began the fight for the restitution of the houses they had been evicted from. This fight was ignited when a few community members one day witnessed yet another farm worker eviction:

That day they saw how the farmer just threw this man out of his house. There and then they decided to form a civic organisation to regain tenure rights. Everything was operated from the school, and later we all got in touch with the SCLC. Their staff came to the school one evening, and there we met them. The SCLC advised us, and one of the things we had to do, was to form another committee, one that was politically non-affiliated. That time I lived in town, but I came to every meeting. Because there I learnt a lot, and the next thing I knew, I was part of the committee! (Virginia)

The civic organisation began consulting with the community to strategise around reclaiming their land. Johanna heard the news from her mother, and the possibility of getting her own house motivated her involvement in the Civics' activities:

It was on a Sunday, when I went to my mother's house. Mr Lewendal (the school principal) came to tell us that a meeting would take place that day, a meeting about houses. That is how I became involved. We were very happy, because see, we wanted our own houses, no matter how big or small, but at the end of the day it would be OUR houses. I felt so excited! (Johanna)

6 Legend would have it that Brandwag derives its name from the use of veld and bush fires by the Khoekhoen of the area to stem the progress of settler invasion during the 1700s. The archival record however documents the trading party of Ensign Isaq Schrijver moving through this region across a 'fine great plain' (later called Ruitenbosch Vlakte) which they named Brandveld because some Hessequa who had wanted to accompany the party, but had been forbidden to do so, had set it ablaze (De Jongh, 2016:60). Also 'Brandwacht'.

The Brandwag beneficiaries met with the SCLC on a regular basis during this phase of the process, and the series of steps they had to take to prepare and submit a land claim to the then Department of Land Affairs was developed. To organise the potential beneficiaries was no easy task, as many of them had moved to other farms in the area.

Reflecting on their journey during the land restitution claim, the two women acknowledge that their involvement and their interaction with the SCLC, changed the way they regarded the contribution made by women during this process. As women, they were in the minority on the Civic structure, yet made sure that they were involved in all its key activities.
The SCLC's director at the time, Dean Van Rooyen, also played an affirming role in the women's lives:

And then Dean also became involved. She would not allow any man to push her down, and we saw this, and this also made us stronger! She used to tell us: women, don't go and lie down; don't let it only be men who are involved. Show them who you are! Show them what you can do! And I was shy at first, but the SCLC encouraged me to go to meetings, to meet other groups in the same boat as us. The SCLC was a good support to our group. And we as women also benefitted from the role the SCLC played in our community. (Johanna)

The SCLC prepared them to fulfil leadership roles during their negotiations with both the Department of Land Affairs and farmers in the area. The SCLC's support was crucial during this time:

The SCLC ensured that our people attend meetings; they were so helpful. They helped us to understand how to conduct meetings; how to draw up a constitution, how to put the committee together. They also brought all the beneficiaries together. From all the different places. At these meetings, we could talk about our needs, our dreams. (Virginia)

In August 1997, the community of Brandwag took ownership of the land they currently live on. It was a day of celebrations as various other communities, Ministers and other government officials joined them. At these celebrations, the banners read: **Brandwag and the SCLC – Hand in Hand we Got our Land.**

The journey toward success was marked by disappointments, opposition and frustration, but most of all it was characterized by the personal sacrifice and perseverance of two remarkable women - assisted by the SCLC every step of the way:

See, the farmers used to just chase us away, and we would wander from place to place. You would come from school, or Pa would come from work, then all your belongings would wait outside for you... some farmers would even drop it on the side of the road... then you had no choice but to go and look for another place...

So, when I heard about the plans to get the land back, I said to myself, Yes. Because, I also wanted my own house. I was in my 40s, and never had a place of my own... It took very, very long to get our land back. But see, in those days, we never had a place of our own.

We held many meetings with the SCLC, mostly about land, and about houses. As a committee, we had to identify suitable land for restitution, and this had to be approved by most of the beneficiaries. We worked so hard. We also had to organise ward committees on each of the surrounding farms, choose ward leaders and

train these leaders. And in between, we went to many SCLC workshops. It was interesting: we met other people. Everything that time, was about land. I can tell you that we really learnt a lot during that time!

It used to be just the two of us women amongst the men. Those days there were more men than women on the committee, because you know how it was then: they did not recognise us. But we continued to stay involved. (Virginia)

The two of us had to do the surrounding areas. We had the hardest work and had the furthest to walk. We walked with our feet, that is how we did all of this. The men could drive, for they had cars. We just had our feet. But we remained involved up until we got the land. Many days, we had to leave our men and children at home, to get to where we are today. See, if we as women put our mind to something, we can do it. And afterwards, when we got the land, it felt good to see what we did, and that we were successful.

We then found the farm that we live on today. We negotiated with farmers in the area, to purchase the land. Many things had to be put in place for us to receive the land. A CPA was established and registered. We had to get everyone's input in the development of our constitution. The negotiations were difficult, but the SCLC helped us, because of all the workshops they had with us. (Johanna)

In the two decades since the Brandwag community received their land, there had thus been successes, yet also challenges. The biggest success was that their land claim succeeded, and that all the beneficiaries received houses of their own. However, since then, the needs of the Brandwag community have shifted from access to land to that of continued development of their land, and the feeling is that the willing buyer – willing seller principle did not benefit them as a community to the extent that was expected. Despite this, taking ownership of the land remains one of the Brandwag community's major accomplishments. Never again would they be subjected to forced removals and they would be free from a landowner's severe treatment:

We received R15 000 per beneficiary. The land however, was purchased above market value. What remained after we purchased the land, was intended for the development of the land and to build houses and infrastructure. In the end, 261 families came to live here, and the remaining land was for agriculture, that was the agreement. If we think back, there are a few things we would have changed. Our kids, who were small then, have grown up, and there is nothing here for them to do, and no jobs. We should have worked on something that would help our children too, and for the children who were to come. And the farming on the land also collapsed. I think it was skills. We did not have it. And to be honest, not everyone was that interested… Or perhaps we needed more training, more support? But I also think that government could have helped us more. You must know, just the thought that I have my own place… No longer will I be chased away, left without a place to go. The farmers were terrible during those days. Those were very, very hard years. (Virginia)

Every day I thank the Lord that I got my own house. My husband fell ill in 2005, and since then he cannot work. If we were still on the farm, I would have lost my house. But today, I have a roof over my head; I don't have to wait for the farmer to come and tell me – get out of my house! For that I thank the Lord. (Johanna)

Brandwacht

CHAPTER 6

LAND REFORM

Realities and response

By 1999 it was increasingly apparent that state-led land reform was a failure. Less than 3% of land had been redistributed and where landless and dispossessed people had secured land, the absence of post settlement support and accountable institutional arrangements meant that so-called 'beneficiaries' lives had not improved. A further challenge was that housing developments on redistributed land were considered 'private'. Municipalities did not provide services on privately owned land, thus poor people were left with the impossible responsibility of paying for and providing their own services.

In 1999 at the Land and Agrarian Reform Conference organised by the NLC and PLAAS, in which landless people from the Southern Cape participated, the Rural Development Initiative was launched. The objective of the RDI was to mobilise landless people nationally, laying the basis for a national movement. However the RDI was not sustained, pointing to the difficulty of sustaining national movements. Among civil society the debate around organising strategies emerged and by 2002 when the Landless People's Movement was formed, from within, the NLC civil society was split on this issue. The SCLC maintained the position that forming national movements in a top-down manner, often led by NGOs, was not conducive to grassroots mobilisation and therefore not sustainable. While the SCLC recognised the importance of a strong and united rural voice and facilitated linkages with so-called national movements like the LPM, the movement did not enjoy traction in the region. The SCLC took their lead from the decisions of people and the strategy remained to focus on strengthening local and district structures to take ownership of, and drive their own struggles. This ideological debate was eventually one of the main reasons for the demise of the NLC in 2005.

Documented project failures contributed to a widespread public perception that land reform was in deep trouble. A National Land Summit held in 2005 with representatives from all stakeholder groupings present, agreed on a review of 'willing seller, willing buyer', the expanded use of expropriation, and a proactive role for the state. The following year saw several new policy thrusts: area-based planning, a proactive land acquisition strategy, a draft Expropriation Bill, and commissioned reports on foreign land ownership, land ceilings and land taxes. The ANC's National Conference in Polokwane in 2007 emphasised the need for an 'integrated programme of rural development, land reform and agrarian change'. Did this signal renewed energy for a more ambitious and wide-ranging programme?

Little came of these new directions. Area-based planning was consultant-driven and desultory, and pro-active land acquisition was reduced to the state purchasing farms and leasing them to redistribution applicants for 3-5 years. Rhetoric about land reform for smallholders disguised the complete neglect of small-scale producers, with funds for comprehensive agricultural support largely directed to a minority of larger-scale producers. Land restitution continued to grind slowly on, hampered by a small budget, capacity problems and inadequate funds for post-settlement support, and only urban claims, resolved through cash compensation for the most part, were resolved in significant numbers. The national budget for land reform remained at less than 1% of the total, indicating little political will for land reform on the part of the ruling party.

Tenure reform was clearly the orphan sub-programme. The department devoted few resources to implementing ESTA and labour tenant legislation, and CPAs and land-holding trusts were badly neglected. Evictions of workers from commercial farms continued, pre-emptively and in response to competitive pressures, indicating the weakness of the legal system. A Communal Land Rights Act was passed in 2004, but this was premised on transferring ownership of land from the state to traditional councils under chiefs, within apartheid-era boundaries imposed by the old regime, an approach that civil society and many rural communities opposed and fought to get dropped. The Act was not implemented, and in 2010 it was struck down by the Constitutional Court, on procedural grounds. However, in 2017 a new proposed act had been published in the government gazette which again disposed some 17 million people in the former 'homelands'.

The role of the state in land reform: after many years, viewed itself as a facilitator, rather than leading this process, and allowed the markets to determine reform, and our concern then and now was: post-settlement. You know Covie, but there is no post-settlement, and development being forced upon the beneficiaries. What we know now, is to allow them to share their indigenous knowledge of development at their own place. That was the issue: the government approach was, you develop a global policy, you go for markets, and these have led to a lot of failed projects. because they never took indigenous knowledge of land use into consideration. And this thing of using extension officers who were purely trained in commercial farming. And there was nothing to promote people's understanding of sustainable development. And expecting people who had nothing two or three years before, to engage in an environment that is still unfriendly to them, and this was one of the main reasons why they failed, and it continues to haunt us today. (Phumelelo Booysen)

TURNING AWAY FROM THE POOR
Land reform and the presidency of Thabo Mbeki

Thabo Mbeki was elected president of South Africa in 1999. Policy priorities shifted from meeting the needs of the poor to servicing a group of aspirant black commercial farmers. Market efficiency and the de-racialization of commercial farming received renewed emphasis. A 'land redistribution and agricultural development' programme replaced earlier policy frameworks, and was meant to be complemented by a 'comprehensive agricultural support programme'.

The means test for those applying for land redistribution grants was removed, but in practice relatively few applicants were located at the upper end of a sliding scale of grants. Many problems experienced in the first five years of land reform became entrenched as systemic problems: official processes remained cumbersome and slow, plagued by poor co-ordination between different departments and spheres of government. Group projects saw beneficiaries continuing to pool their grants to purchase large farms, which they were not allowed to subdivide into smallholder plots.

Inadequate post-settlement support had by this stage been identified as a key problem, but the large-scale commercial farming model dominated planning and thinking about agriculture. Consultants based in the large-farm sector remained the main source of expertise for processes of farm business planning in land reform projects, and there was often a large gap between these business plans and the actual needs, desires and capacities of beneficiaries.

TURNING TOWARDS EMERGENT ELITES
Land reform and the presidency of Jacob Zuma

After 2009 rural development, food security and land reform were identified as priorities of the Zuma government and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) was created. Many policy statements and new directions have been announced over the past eight years, many highly controversial. A very brief Green Paper on Land Reform was published in August 2011 but set out only general statements of principle in bullet points. No White Paper has appeared, and no coherent, overarching framework for land reform policy exists at present; new policies are essentially *ad hoc* and barely debated in public.

One new direction was a Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) aimed at creating 'vibrant and sustainable rural communities'. This is targeted at 'nodes' in wards where poverty is deep and involves para-development specialists training community members to be gainfully employed in a range of micro-projects. An evaluation of the CRDP commissioned by the Presidency identified multiple problems, including, predictably, tensions with other line departments, and only short-term job creation through infrastructural development. Now in decline, the CRDP has been a massive waste of time and resources.

The Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act of 2014 opened land claims for another five years, until 2019. This could jeopardize thousands of existing claims, including those by labour tenants, that have not been settled, as well as the approximately 20,000 claims that are settled but not yet implemented. These could be swamped by new claims lodged since 2014, which already number around 160 000 (most of them for cash compensation). In addition, government seeks to open up the claims process to traditional leaders, an interest group particularly favoured by the Zuma regime. In KwaZulu-Natal, King Zwelethini immediately responded by indicating that he intends to claim most of that province. It is highly unlikely that the hundreds of billions of rand required to settle an estimated 397,000 claims will ever be available. In 2016 the Amendment Act was successfully challenged in the Constitutional Court, and, on procedural grounds, suspended for a two-year period.

The State Land Lease and Disposal Policy (SLLDP) of 2013 applies on farms acquired through the proactive land acquisition strategy. It identifies four categories of beneficiaries: (1) households with no or very limited access to land; (2) small-scale farmers farming mainly for subsistence and selling some produce locally; (3) medium-scale farmers already farming commercially but constrained by insufficient land; and (4) large-scale commercial farmers with potential to grow but disadvantaged by location and farm size. In terms of this policy, ironically adopted in the centenary year of the Natives Land Act of 1913, black South Africans who gain access to land through land reform do not acquire full ownership rights for at least 50 years.

The policy is clearly biased towards medium-scale and large black commercial farmers. It assumes that there will be only one lessee per farm, and no mention is made of subdividing large farms. Categories 1 and 2 include labour tenants and farmworkers, who will be leased state land at a nominal rental of R1 per annum, without any option to purchase. But it is not clear that there are any projects on the ground that benefit these categories. Categories 3 and 4 are leased state land for 30 years, with leases renewable for another 20 years, and will then have an option to purchase

The Recapitalisation and Development Policy Programme ('Recap') of 2014 replaced all previous forms of funding

for land reform, including settlement support grants for restitution beneficiaries. Business plans written by private sector partners or officials are used to guide decision-making. Beneficiaries must have business partners recruited from the private sector, as mentors or 'co-managers', or within share-equity schemes. The Presidency commissioned a mid-term evaluation of the Recap programme in 2013 that reveals its elite bias. Large sums are being spent on relatively few beneficiaries, few jobs have been created, and access to markets for produce remains limited. In the six provinces covered in the assessment, an average of around R3.5 million was spent per project, around R520 000 per beneficiary, and job creation cost R645 000 per job. Some mentors and partners are milking these projects for their own benefit, paying little attention to skills transfer.

A policy on 'Strengthening the Relative Rights of People Working the Land', also known as the '50/50'policy, is now being piloted. Each farm owner is to retain 50% ownership of the farm, ceding the other 50% to workers. In the original proposal, workers' shares in the farm would depend upon their length of 'disciplined service'. While couched in 'radical' language, this in fact offers workers very little, but promises farm owners a massive windfall of public money. The gap between 'pro-poor' rhetoric and the reality that the main beneficiaries of these policies are old and new elites, the hallmark of land policies adopted under Zuma, is crystal clear.

Tenure reform has continued to be neglected in the Zuma era. Farm workers and farm dwellers remain highly vulnerable to eviction, and only cosmetic and inappropriate amendments to ESTA have been proposed. Thousands of labour tenant claims have been ignored, and only recent court action brought by an activist NGO, AFRA, has forced the department to commit itself to resolving them. Communal tenure reform policy, although not yet embodied in law, continues to be focused on the transfer of land ownership to traditional leadership structures and chiefs, with community members offered only 'statutory use rights'. Proposed new laws like the 'Traditional and Khoisan (*sic*) Leadership Bill' of 2016 do not address the underlying lack of accountability of such structures, or the fundamental problem that apartheid-era 'traditional community' boundaries will continue to be imposed, whether or not people pay any allegiance to a traditional leader.

Labour Tenant Protest at the court case in Johannesburg, May 2019

NEO-APARTHEID? - LAND TO BE TRANSFERRED TO 'TRADITIONAL' COMMUNITIES

intention to transfer authority over the 17,2 million hectares of communal land to traditional councils or to 'Community The The new piece of legislation which was recently published in the government gazette has resuscitated the ruling party's intention to transfer authority over the 17,2 million hectares
of communal land to traditional councils or to 'Community Property Associations' (CPA). Individuals will only obtain land rights in the unlikely event that the 'community', mostly under the control of traditional leaders, makes such a decision.

During the apartheid years people were bunched together in groups and were allocated rights as a group - an ethnic group or a 'tribe'. Ironically the present government is endeavouring to adopt the same procedure and it amounts to the confiscation of land - a second wave of land dispossession. The government has since 1994 been promising legislation which will give right of land ownership to the inhabitants of the former Bantustans/'homelands'. This land currently belongs to the state because apartheid legislation denied black people such ownership. After 1994 the understanding was that the inhabitants of these areas were actually the owners of the land and that the government was only provisionally holding it in trust for them.

After 2000 there was a shift in policy in favour of traditional leaders. Some observers maintain that this is because these leaders will ensure a vote in favour of the ruling party during elections, and that the most recent initiative is with a view to the 2019 general election.

The country's traditional leaders regularly put demands to the government in the form of veiled threats that they need certain 'extras' in order to fulfil their indispensable role for the authorities. In 2015 for example, ten kings, 829 senior traditional leaders and 5311 headmen insisted on being given Mercedez-Benz LUVs, washing machines, dish washers and other privileges. President Zuma labelled this a 'progressive request' and acceded to their demands. The government pays their salaries at any rate and furthermore , the new legislation will give them exactly what they wanted all along, title deeds and complete control of the land.

According to the African customary legal system there are different levels of authority. The individual is at the lowest level followed by the family, lineage and then the community - previously designated a tribe. By allotting land rights to one entity, the community, and hence its leader, the land rights of the other levels are negated. In some cases, the communities which will obtain rights to 'their' land number some 100 000 individuals. Significantly, another legal act is being mooted to oblige the traditional councils even more. The rules which require that 40% of a council's members must be democratically elected and that one third should be women, are to be made less stringent. Not least, there are many recent examples of traditional leaders and CPAs exploiting their communities. Extravagant expenditure on 'palaces' is such an example; several CPAs have been placed under administration for being dysfunctional and for abusing their authority; for example in the Maluti-a-Phofung municipal area, within which the erstwhile homeland of Qwaqwa falls, thousands of people have been waiting for 15 years for the government to schedule a community meeting. Such a meeting is required for the community officially to agree to the transfer of the land to individuals. Some 4350 households have long since submitted the required documentation to have the land registered in their name - but to no avail.

‘KHOISAN’, ‘SAN’, ‘BUSHMEN’ AND ‘KHOEKHOE’ THE TERMS AND THE PEOPLE

These terms not only need consideration but in fact deconstruction, particularly given the context of the current debate around land and dispossession. ‘Khoisan’ has not only been sanctioned by its use in official documentation by government, but has also gained wide currency in both the printed and electronic media - and public figures, researchers and writers have also uncritically adopted it. Not least, activists themselves are using the designation for the various groupings and organisations that they formed to expedite their campaigns e.g. The National Khoisan Council, The Khoisan First Nation, The Khoisan National Resistance Movement, The Western Cape Khoi-San People’s Land Restitution Council and the Gauteng Khoisan Council, among others.

The German scholar, L. Schultze, coined the term ‘Khoïsan’ (later Khoisan) in 1928 to denote the ‘racial stock’ to which the ‘Bushmen’ and ‘Hottentots’ belong. An anthropologist, Isaac Schapera, also used the term in the 1930 title of his book in which he had sections on ‘Bushmen’ and ‘Hottentots’. ‘Khoisan’ is thus an artificial European construction - a compound which is neither a Khoekhoe (Khoi) nor a Bushman (San) word - and at any rate would translate as ‘people who gather food’, hence excluding the herders (the Khoekhoe).

Although ‘San’ is perceived by outsiders as being politically correct, many contemporary Bushmen (Boesmans) prefer the term ‘Bushmen’ rather than ‘San’. ‘San’ (‘Saan’, ‘Sān’, ‘Sonqua’, ‘Soaqua’, ‘Ubiqua’) was at any rate a collective term the Bushmen never used for themselves. Each Bushmen hunting band or community self-identified with specific terms like the /Xam of the Great Karoo. The meaning of ‘San’ has furthermore been variously translated and interpreted, mostly with derogatory implications i.e. it was used by the Khoekhoe (note this spelling, not Khoikhoin, and the ‘Kh’ is pronounced like the ‘G’ in Gauteng and the ‘oe’ and ‘oen’ like the English word ‘when’) to refer to people of lower status or people ‘different from themselves’, people without stock and, by implication, thieves. The derivation of the term has also been recorded as meaning ‘tramps’, ‘vagabands’, ‘rascals’, ‘robbers’ and ‘bandits’. Finally, the contention that ‘Bushman’ is both a racist/pejorative and a sexist term has long since been nullified by the Bushmen’s self-use of it and its local currency. (De Jongh, 2016:4)

These are crucial issues and it is indubitable that the plight of the millions of rural black South Africans who find themselves on these vast tracts of land but are dispossessed of it, must be addressed as a matter of urgency – but that a different paradigm

is required, one which will fully restore their citizenship of this land. These matters of contention are in the public domain and the on-going debate receives wide coverage in the media and specialist researchers have produced reams of scientific articles and volumes on the topic.
It is significant though, that such voices are comparatively and relatively silent when we consider the 'other' dispossessed South Africans. Settlements and communities of 'coloureds', and especially also those people who are increasingly identifying as descendants of the earliest inhabitants of what is now the Republic of South Africa, the 'Khoisan' (*sic*), are seeking and demanding also to be heard (see insert on 'terms').

On Saturday 28 April 2015 already Mr Gugile Nkwinti, Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, said that land had been set aside in the Eastern and Western Cape for 'Khoi-San' land claims: 'There is land for land claims by people from the Khoi and San in the Eastern and Western Cape'. His spokesperson Mthobeli Mxotwa, however, said 'No, no there is no timeframe for this', and added that although there should also not be time wasted - the reason why land reform takes so long is that the government cannot afford to make mistakes.

The 'Khoi-San' activist Taniya Kleinhans-Cedras however commented that Nkwinti's promise is contrary to existing administrative processes which do not recognise land claims of pre-1913 ownership:

What is worse is that Nkwinti made the announcement in Qwa-Qwa and not even here in the Western Cape. We are not even informed by him about this. We are excluded from the process. We have proof of pre-1913 ownership. Why does the minister not speak to us?

She furthermore claimed that when 'Khoi' and 'San' submit land claims they have to produce proof of heritage, but when a 'Xhosa person' claims that a certain piece of land is his, his DNA is not requested.

The 'Traditional and Khoisan Leadership Act' which was proposed in 2016 again brought all these issues to the forefront. Public meetings were held at parliament and Khoekhoe communities were represented by their leaders. Hence Namaqua, Korana, Hessequa, Gouriqua, Gorachouqua, Goringaikona, and Griqua headmen, amongst others, met together with Xhosa, Zulu and other traditional leaders. The 'Khoi-San' representatives were generally critical and disillusioned and clearly expressed their sentiments:

- Some rejected the legislation outright as 'false' because it does not provide proper reparation for the 'Khoi-San'.
- Legislation is first required which will properly acknowledge the genocide of the 'Khoi-San'.
- The legislation cannot give authority to 'Khoi' leaders over their people, while they do not have rights over 'their own' land.

The first such meeting lasted an entire day and ended on an acrimonious note when the 'Khoi-San' representatives allegedly had to sit on the floor and eat the meal which was provided with plastic forks while the Xhosa headmen and other traditional leaders were invited to eat with the LPs in the dining room, and did so with silverware.

For many this was the gist of their disillusionment. The 'Khoi-San' representatives felt that as a group they were still marginalised after 22 years of democracy and that 'the colour of their disillusionment is mainly brown'.

The SCLC track record over 30 years speaks for itself, it testifies to an organisation that was principle driven. The sole inducement for getting involved, to facilitate, was the needs of particular settlements or communities.

LAND REFORM – FRUSTRATION AND FAILURE
The reasons:

Firstly, government's current land reform programme is *ad hoc* and lacks coherence. Agricultural and land policies have not been clearly linked. Little support for black, and some isolated 'coloured', smallholder farmers is on offer, and no land reform farms have been officially sub-divided. Informal agricultural markets are ignored. Spatial targeting of land and beneficiaries in zones of opportunity and need (e.g. farms located on the edges of densely settled former Bantustans, and on urban edges) has been absent, and local government has barely been involved in planning and implementation. Water reform and land reform have barely touched sides, and urban land has been dealt with separately from rural land. Society at large needs to demand that government produces a coherent and co-ordinated framework for land and agrarian reform, including appropriate forms of post-settlement support.

Secondly, a number of unexamined assumptions undercut effective policy on land and agriculture. A large-scale commercial farm model informs all assessments of the 'viability' of projects, thus hobbling attempts to support smallholder farming, and the poor are seen as homogeneous (when they are in fact socially differentiated) - as a result, targeting of land reform is ineffective. Measures to promote the informal economy, including markets for food, are absent, as a result of assumptions that only formal markets count. Thirdly, state capacity is completely inadequate for the complex and time-consuming processes that land reform involves. Creating such capacity is crucial, and comprises strong leadership and management, adequate budgets, appropriate policies, sound institutional structures, efficient procedures and an effective system for monitoring and evaluation. All of these are problematic, and the DRDLR is known to be one of the weakest government departments.

Fourthly, the positive potential of the constitution to guide and direct land reform has not been realised, mainly because of the lack of political will on the part of the ANC. The property clause, which requires compensation to be paid for land acquired by the state, is not a fundamental constraint, and acquiring farms at prices below market value is perfectly possible, given that compensation must be 'just and equitable'. More importantly, however, if the budget for land reform increased from its present level of 0.4% of the national total, to say, 2%, land purchase on a large scale would be enabled.

Fifthly, land reform has been captured by elites. The most powerful voices in the rural sector are those of black capitalist farmers, traditional leaders, large-scale white commercial farmers and agribusiness companies, all benefitting to a greater degree than the rural or urban poor. A once-effective civil society sector has lost significant capacity, and its voice is seldom heard in national debates other than in relation to issues of customary land rights and traditional leadership. Farmworkers are weakly unionised, and small-scale farmers do not have their interests adequately represented. It is critically important that the social justice and activist components of civil society regain their capacity for effective advocacy and organisation, if land reform is to be re-focused on the rural and urban poor and smallholder farmers.

Finally, it is clear that land reform has been politically misdirected since 1999. The size of the budget for land reform has always been derisory. It is paradoxical that land questions are at once politically explosive and yet disregarded in practice by the ruling party. This disconnect is at the root of the problem, and has come to a head in recent debates. President Jacob Zuma and others closely associated with the 'state capture faction' in the ANC have recently called for the Constitution to be amended so that land can be expropriated without compensation, echoing the rhetoric of the EFF. This turn to radical populism is an attempt to divert attention from the ways in which land and the budget for land reform has increasingly been used as a resource for political patronage, rather than a means to address the structural inequality inherited from colonialism and apartheid.

As the SCLC's scope of commitment broadened this was progressively reflected in not only the geographical spread, but also the demographic profile of the people and communities that were embraced and drawn into their endeavours. The names of the places, communities and organisations that came within the SCLC's purview of involvement reflect both the diversity and the rootedness of such undertakings in fact some of them are quite poignant and evince something of this decades-long land reform saga: Lawaaikamp, where it all started; Karatara; Brandwacht; Zeewenfontein; Baviaanskloof; Covie; Hessequa; Slangrivier; Haarlem; Koukamma; Toekoms; Buisplaas; Matjiesfontein; Nelspoort and many more (See Chapters 1, 4, 5 and 7 for a discussion of these).

The wider spectrum of the SCLC's endeavours was, as we have seen, situated in a constantly changing, and challenging, socio-political context. This continually required an appropriate response and given the very essence of the SCLC, this was the case (See Chapters 3 and 8). Appropriate paradigm shifts were part of the strategy and the SCLC followed a dual approach by working intensively with local community structures towards accessing land, housing and utilising natural resources. Networking and alliance-building were also prioritised, not only at the local level but also nationally.

Without exception people noted that they are 'listened to' or 'heard' or 'respected' by SCLC staff, and that, for almost all, this was a rare, if not unique experience. (SCLC Sovereign Evaluation; 2011)

No to Nuclear Protest in Cape Town – The Secret Trillion Nu clear Deal. Earthlife Africa, Safcei court case

Farmworker women from the Langkloof at the Public Hearings in Oudtshoorn, on the amendment of Section 25 of the Constituition

CHAPTER 7

TRIUMPHS AND TESTIMONIES

The SCLC walked with us for seven years. Then they said to us, now you can walk alone. And we realised that yes, a bird always walks ahead of its children, until they reach a stage where they learn how to fly out of the nest. And the SCLC told us: Zeewenfontein, you are ready to fly!
(Ballie of Zeewenfonten)

During those days, it was good to work with the SCLC. They opened our eyes. See, all those years we worked for farmers, and often thought that the farmer was lying when he told us about his difficulties. We thought he was lying to us! But then, when we started with the farm, we discovered that the farmer was right to a certain extent. Managing a farm is not easy or simple. It was harder than we thought. But in this aspect, the SCLC really helped us. Through them we got to see how things work. (Oom Karel, Zeewenfontein)

One thing that moved me to become part of the SCLC, is the fact that through them we attended an Indaba, where we met other stakeholders, including the people from the LRC. Just to know that there are people you can talk to, people willing to fight for you, motivates you to keep going. To know that there are people who can give us legal advice… these facts stand out for me: that I could meet people like them, and that they stay in contact with us. (Elizabeth, Hessequa Agricultural Forum)

The SCLC has always believed in becoming intensively involved with people 'on the ground' and by virtue of this was able to develop a proper conception of the issues and circumstances with which they are confronted, particularly regarding agrarian transformation.

Participatory, receptive and always intent on listening and learning, the SCLC consistently developed a sensitive appreciation of peoples' plight. In order to obtain a measure of the SCLC's accomplishments and a 30-year journey of commitment, enablement, mobilisation and transformative intervention, one only has to turn to those whose lives and circumstances have benefitted. The testimonies of the beneficiaries of successful undertakings speak for themselves (also see Chapters 3, 4 and 5):

Alm Maganie (Sewefontein Farm Manager) and Anghenick Jonas (SCLC Field worker)

KARATARA

Japie Sonqayi, a forestry worker for most of his life, was a key member of the Karatara Housing Committee, who fought for, and ultimately won the right to housing for black forestry workers in the Karatara-district during the early 1990s to the 2000s. Karatara was established, and heavily subsidised by the apartheid government as a settlement for retired white forestry workers, whilst retired black forestry workers had no tenure rights at all.

Japie began working at Millwood Plantation, located above Karatara in 1973. There his children were born and raised. Life for a black worker and his family on the Plantation was hard during those years. Experiences of oppression directly led to the protest action initiated by the Housing Committee on the forestry plantations. Japie explains:

One evening, when Japie's colleague was evicted after falling ill, he and the other male workers on the Plantation decided that they had, had enough of this unfair treatment. They began organising themselves into a Housing Committee, aimed at protecting the tenure rights of black forestry workers on Millwood.

We called ourselves the Housing Committee. This was long before the 1994 elections, around 1990. Those days there were no laws that protected plantation workers. We had no protection. Our people did not want to leave their homes, they wanted to stay. (Japie Sonqayi)

It was during this time that the Committee also approached the SCLC for support in their campaign.

Later we called in reinforcements, and the SCLC came on board. They helped us tremendously. Not that we were not sharp! We were sharp, but they made us sharper with all the workshops. They really drilled us with workshops, took us to other plantations to see how things are done there. And in 2000 we also started the Forestry Indaba. We went to many places with the SCLC, even to KZN, to see how other workers are fighting for housing. (Japie Sonqayi)

I worked all those years for Bosbou. Those were hard years. It worked like this; the man had to work for Bosbou, and if your child completed school, he had to leave the house. We had many fights over this. We just felt that, now you must throw your child to the wolves. Their argument was that they could not subsidise children who can work for themselves.

The other sad thing at Bosbou was: the bosses used to come and inspect your place time and again. We had a town-caretaker, and everyone had to report to him, visitors had to say to whom and for how long they are visiting. And then, also, when people became old, or sick, or went on pension, then they gave you three months to remain in the Bosbou-house, before you had to leave. And then people had no choice but to leave, and go and start all over again on farms, to get a little house. (Japie Sonqayi)

Wallace Lukas, Ina October, Japie Sonqayi

With the SCLC, we went to the government. We told them what was wrong. That when we are done working for Bosbou, that we must leave our homes. But whites were being moved to the welfare town, and we had to leave. This was not right. PW Botha took great care of them: they had gardens, horses, milk… But when we retired, we had to go and work for a farmer! (Japie Sonqayi)

The housing committee was confronted with resistance from Forestry, and later from SAFCOL, following privatisation of forestry plantations. Yet the Committee persisted, and moved into houses in Karatara. Japie says that it was their persistence, and refusal to give up, that led to them ultimately receiving the title deeds to homes in the former white welfare town of Karatara.

Later they (the government) no longer had a choice – they had to give in to us. Thoko Didiza then agreed that we can get houses here, and we all came to live here. Land Affairs later came in, and the SCLC helped us with the surveys to get the names of people on the list. But before that, government wanted to give us a housing subsidy of R15 000, but we refused this, we wanted the houses here in Karatara. We really fought a lot. We also got along well with the SCLC. They were the people who would write letters for us, they went out of their way. Organised transport for us, and they really enabled transport and communication. If I had to go and speak at another plantation, they would drive me there. This helped us, because our organisation did not have transport, and it would have been difficult to do our work without their help. (Japie Sonqayi)

Japie is 72, and although he retired a few years ago, remains active. He works part-time for Trees Africa, where his tremendous knowledge of forestry is being utilised. The housing struggle led by the Karatara Housing Committee, in partnership with the SCLC, was hard, but the result gave them satisfaction. However, Japie remains conscious of the new generation of workers' continued struggle for housing. He explains:

To finally own your own house, felt good, but not as good as it should. See, there are still some of our people here who live in garages, the need is still there. People might think that now that I got my house, I am not that involved… but the truth is I am getting old. But with this need for housing, the municipality must really come in. Because what will happen, is that with no houses available, and this slow development, people will begin to squat, in fact, it is already happening. Here is land available, so what is the problem? There are serviced plots available, so let the people go and live there. You cannot dump a lot of poor people on a heap without expecting trouble - the past taught us that. (Japie Sonqayi)

Sewefontein Trustees

ZEEWENFONTEIN (SEWEFONTEIN)

In 2001, the farmworkers of the farm Zeewenfontein became the first black farm owners in the Baviaanskloof. This was achieved after their land restitution claim was approved by the Department of Land Affairs. Today, 16 years later, the farm Zeewenfontein is still owned and managed by the Communal Property Association established by the former farm workers, and current farming activities include both livestock and thriving lucerne fields.

Oom Karel, an elder on the farm, was part of the land restitution claiming since its inception. He remembers that the idea for them to take ownership of the farm came from its then owner, who first shared his idea with the foreman, who then in turn shared it with the other workers on the farm:

One day (the farmer) told Dena, the foreman, that he wanted to sell the farm. But he said to Dena, I feel that all of you who work here, must buy the farm. For you are living a hard life, and life is very up and down for you guys. I feel that you guys must buy the farm. Dena still asked him: How will we buy the farm? And then the farmer gave him the information about how we could buy the farm. That is where the thing began. Dena came to me one evening, and explained the thing to us. He had the information about how to collect the information for the subsidies,

and how we can pool each beneficiary's subsidy to buy the farm. (Oom Karel)

The workers collected the names of eligible claimants to submit the land claim to the Department of Land Affairs. They travelled to many farms in the Baviaanskloof to find workers who had historical links with the farm. The total number of beneficiaries finally came to 75. Aside from finding the beneficiaries, Oom Karel and others also held regular meetings to keep the claimants informed of the process.

Farmers in the Baviaanskloof however, were hostile towards this new development, and made their feelings known to the claimants. Ballie, the son of one of the older workers on the farm, witnessed a violent incident between one of the farmers and Oom Dena. The farmer was unhappy with the idea that workers would become land owners, and when Oom Dena stood his ground, the farmer assaulted him:

One day, right here in the pack house, that farmer grabbed Oom Dena. He almost strangled him! Because see, the farmers here in the Kloof felt that we as Coloureds cannot take this place. They complained that we would steal their goats, that we would break their fences, that we would do this wrong, and that wrong, and that because of this, they as farmers cannot allow that we buy the farm. (Oom Karel)

And although the farmer was prepared to sell his farm, and portrayed his willingness as an act of kindness, Ballie, who witnessed much of the hardships of the workers, was not completely convinced:

That very same man who gave the farm to our people, chased the old people off his farm when he was the owner. That very same man. But then he changed. He sold the farm to the very same people he chased off the farm. (Oom Karel)

In 2001, the farm workers' claim was approved by the Department of Land Affairs, and the workers took ownership of the farm. Although happy, the new owners felt overwhelmed by the responsibility, and through liaising with the Willowmore Civic, approached SCLC to explore ways that the organisation could support them. Oom Karel remembers how SCLC promptly responded to their request.

Mr Booysen immediately came to meet with us, to ask what we needed, and so on. And then the SCLC began providing us with information about how to go about things. The SCLC went out of their way to build our skills. They took us to visit other farms like ours, to see how things are being done there. And we travelled, for the first time, to places like Grahamstown and East London. We shared with other claimants how we went about to buy the farm, to give them advice. (Oom Karel)

See, when this land thing was happening, it was no longer the old government, but things in the Kloof were still hectic. The white people here did not recognise us. If they saw you in the road, they would try to knock you over. This is what it was like in those days. So, we didn't talk to others about our claim, we kept it quiet. Because we knew how the whites were treating our people (Oom Karel).

Managing a farm was not easy in the beginning. Some farmers tried to cheat the new and inexperienced owners, and one farmer helped the new owners with equipment, only to present them with an exorbitant bill. However, with the SCLC's help, the new owners could get access to a lawyer to represent them.

Ballie, the current chairperson of the CPA, explains that, although it was overwhelming at the start, the SCLC played an important part in gaining access to resources, and laying sound management and financial systems for the farm:

Phumi and Angela helped us to develop a business plan. And then they went to talk to the NDA, who then sponsored us with R2, 7 million. With this money, we could buy a bakkie, tractor and equipment for the farm, and pay initial wages. Lucerne formed a big part of the business plan, and today we are making a profit from it.

The SCLC also helped us with the financial management. Before we bought anything, we would hold meetings to discuss it. They would never tell us what to do, but gave us their view. They would always tell us: Guys, this is your farm, you can decide, but just watch out for this, or that. And they also helped us form a steering committee, where all the role players are involved, the CPA, Land Affairs and the SCLC. Before we do anything, we present it to this committee. This is one of the best ideas that the SCLC gave us, this steering committee. Today still it works 100%. Alm Maganie (Ballie)

Over the past 16 years, Zeewenfontein remains the only black-owned farm in the Baviaanskloof. The new owners managed to develop the farm, despite the hostility they initially faced from neighbouring farmers. Today, these same farmers regularly buy lucerne from Zeewenfontein. The former workers, now owners, over the years developed a strong commitment to joint decision-making, frugal spending, and incurring minimal debt. This has ensured that the farm remains in their possession.

They remain thankful to the SCLC for their support over the years. The SCLC no longer formally assists the farm, but remains in touch. At first, when the SCLC announced their withdrawal, the new owners were apprehensive. However, Ballie still remembers the affirming way the SCLC formally brought their assistance to a close and they were reassured that they were now capable of carrying on independently.

Sewenfontein Farm

COVIE

The story of Covie dates to the 1800s, when a group of plantation workers, after losing their jobs on the Plantation around the Tsitsikamma, went off in search of a place to stay. The descendants of the first permanent inhabitants of Covie remember the story, as it was handed down from generation to generation.

Penelope, a descendent of the man who found Covie, tells the story of how her great-grandfather's father trekked along the sea, in search of a place for them to stay, when he spotted the open space above the cliffs of Natures Valley.

He climbed up the cliff, and then came to the place we now call Covie… this open space in the forest, that borders the fynbos and indigenous flowers. They say that the name Covie is a Khoi (sic) name, it means 'Place in the Forest'.[7]

So, he went back to the other workers, and told them about this place. He then decided to write to Queen Elizabeth to ask her if he and the other plantation workers could live there. That time the English were governing the Cape. The Queen replied to say that it was fine. And, that next year, she came to South Africa, and personally handed the title deeds over to the plantation workers. The workers were a mixed group, White and Coloured. There were the Barnardo, Dixon, Davids, Primo, Pedro, Wyatt, Christians and Petersen families, and that is how they got the land.

My great-great grandfather was the one who organised everything. Everyone got a plot. People could choose where they wanted to live. He came to South Africa with the Newdigates, who built the church there on the Crags. He came with them from England. But I am not so sure, because the old people never wrote things down! (Penelope)

The new residents of Covie had to pay the Queen for the land, and over many years they made their monthly payments, until they received the title deeds to their land.

After more than 150 years of generations living in Covie, their peace was disrupted by the then apartheid government. In the early 1970s, the government, realising the value of the pine trees surrounding Covie, embarked on a strategy to evict the residents of Covie, to develop a forestry plantation. At that time, Penelope was a young child, but she remembers the stories her grandparents told them about what happened in Covie:

The government wanted to turn Covie into a plantation, and wanted to evict the people of Covie. Those days pines were very expensive, and the government wanted to make money from it. They offered our people R50 for their plots. White people also lived in Covie. The government offered them R25 000, but R50 to our people.

My uncle and aunt, Antie Rienie and Oom Frans, went around and gave people R50, telling them not to take the government's money, and to

7 'Covie' derives from the Khoekhoe word *ǂkuwi* which means 'noisy' or 'rushing' water, river or waves. Xhosa-speakers 'translated' the word to 'Qoyi'. Another possible original Khoekhoe word is *koë ! hoa* meaning 'make a bend' or 'crooked' river.

keep their title deeds. They were fighting for our people not to lose their land. Cooper, the head of Forestry at the time, came to personally evict my grandfather. But my grandfather told him: If you want me out of here, you will have to shoot me dead. In the end, only my grandfather and Oom Flip remained in Covie.

My family remained in Covie for all those years. They refused to move. My great-grandfather said that his father worked hard to pay off that land. And those were tough years, so why must they give it all up just like that? (Penelope)

Many Covie residents opted to leave, because the apartheid government threatened to fire them from the plantations, if they refused. Penelope remembers how people had to kill their livestock, for they were moved to small plots in Coldstream, developed by the government for the workers from Bloukrans and Covie.

Years passed. Then, in the early 1990s, old Covie residents learnt that they could claim back the land they were evicted from, through the Government's Land Restitution Programme. Penelope's Aunt Rienie, was one of the driving forces behind this claim. At that time, she contacted the SCLC to support them with the process. Mama Sampo, an SCLC employee at the time, dedicated her energy to help ensure that Covie residents get their land back. Penelope remembers her arrival:

Then the time came when we could claim our land back. We had a committee at the time. My mother was a member. And in a community meeting they discussed the claim. Mama Sampo and Phumi came to the meeting, because they had experience in dealing with the government around land. And Mama Sampo came to inform the committee on how to apply for a claim.

It was a big thing. The committee met till late, often into the early hours of the morning, to put all the details together, to ensure that it was a claim. And at first Land Affairs didn't want to accept it. My aunt and Mama Sampo would sit there in the lounge, talking and writing, getting things together. It took very long.

But that day, when the department informed Mama Sampo that the claim was approved, she didn't phone us. She got her son to drive her all the way from George, to personally come and tell us that the claim was approved. (Penelope)

Following the successful claim, a total of 410 beneficiaries finally regained tenure to the land lost by their parents and grandparents during the 1970s. By that time, many of the descendants were scattered over the country, and less than 100 beneficiaries remained in Covie. Covie is a beautiful place. The forest surrounds it on three sides, and the other side offers a generous view of the ocean below. It is valuable land, rich in indigenous fynbos, water and fertile soil.

The SCLC continued to provide support to Covie, until the Covie residents decided to take matters into their own hands. Penelope feels that the community received poor advice from the Rural Development official assigned to their case:

The SCLC would have helped us till this day, but then the man from Restitution told us that they would help us. The SCLC then withdrew… Because that Rural Development man wanted to develop Covie a certain way. And get us a developer. But I ask you, if the developer does all the work, what will happen to our restitution money? (Penelope)

Many of Covie's residents are wary of developers who want to develop the site for tourism. And since receiving the land 16 years ago, development has moved at a slow pace.

We still do not have the title deeds to our land. Land Affairs is only now talking about finalising it. But God alone knows when this will happen. We want to start building our houses. Government wants to get a developer to develop Covie. And we are waiting for land valuations to be finalised. Public Works must still valuate the commonage…. It is one thing after the other. And things are standing still. (Penelope)

The challenge confronting the Covie community is complex. It lies between the fact that most of the beneficiaries no longer reside in Covie, and a government department that had an idea for the development of Covie, but which was not desirable for all the beneficiaries. Penelope explains:

We met with Rural Development in Pacaltsdorp. I asked that man: where were you raised? In town, or on the platteland? In the platteland, he answered me. I told him: did anyone there tell you what to do? Don't come and tell us what to do. We were born and raised in Covie. We know how things work here. We know what we want. You cannot decide for us. We don't want to live the way you want us to live, it doesn't work like that! (Penelope)

The ghost of apartheid in South Africa, when her people were subjected to discrimination, oppression and limited opportunities for development, still seems to haunt Covie. There is no progress in settling its future. The new government has also placed restrictions on certain benefits that Covie residents enjoyed historically, such as free access to the beach, and fishing rights in the ocean. The new toll gate on the N2, the key access road to Covie, now limits the residents' ability to move in an out unless they pay to go through the toll. There is no public transport. There are no job opportunities for residents. Penelope is frustrated, eager to get started on rebuilding Covie.

We have water. We have the fynbos. We have the sea. We have the mountains. Everything that people would like to have. But they (the government) do not want us to enjoy this. Is it because we are not white? I am frustrated, because they must do the right thing. Right is right, and wrong is wrong! (Penelope)

Mama Sampo, Irene Barnardo (SCLC fieldworker) and mayor of Bitou Municipality, Euan Wildeman

HESSEQUA AGRICULTURAL FORUM: ALPHA SMALL FARMERS

The Hessequa Agri-Forum (HAF) consists of 19 small-scale farmers, who farm on municipal commonage in towns that include Slangrivier, Heidelberg, Riversdale, Olieboomskraal and Garcia. One of the committee leaders of HAF, Elizabeth, is a member of Alpha Small Farmers in Heidelberg and explains how the forum was established:

We were all doing our own thing; if you got a piece of land somewhere, then you would try to make the best of it. Not all of us had land. Then the SCLC came in; they talked to all the different small farmers here, and brought us together. (Elizabeth)

With the SCLC's support the various individual small farmers, who shared a common need of land, joined forces to negotiate with the Heidelberg municipality to use the commonage for their farming projects. Being a unified force proved beneficial, explains Elizabeth:

When it came to the point that we had to negotiate, this made things easier, as the municipality also didn't want to talk to every individual, but rather, to a collective. They (the municipality) wanted to be a stakeholder, but only if we were a forum. That is how we arrived at forming the Hessequa Agri-Forum. (Elizabeth)

The HAF's partnership with the SCLC resulted in the signing of nine year and eleven month leases between the small farmers and the municipalities, thus securing long-term access to, and use of agricultural land, for those who previously had no land.

With the SCLC's help we could sign our contracts with the municipality in June 2013. We had worked with Rosalinda for some time, and she really motivated us. SCLC helped us with various trainings, of which one was the training of management committee members. You were trained to be a secretary, a chairperson, a treasurer – how to fulfil these tasks. This was just one of their very good training sessions We also learned how to do market research and to gain access to markets. This was very interesting, and I learnt a lot whilst doing this research. (Elizabeth)

The signing of these contracts was a major victory for the HAF. It was not an easy process, as both the municipality and the commercial farmers placed stumbling blocks in their way.

Things were not easy in the beginning: it was difficult to negotiate with the municipality, but with the SCLC's support, I think, the process became easier. In most cases the available commonage at the time was being used by commercial farmers. We then put pressure on the municipality to declare which commercial farmers still had contracts, to end these contracts, and not to renew them. Because of these actions our people gained access to the land.

The (commercial) farmers were very unhappy about this, and there are still a few of them today who refuse to cooperate with us. A lot of these commercial farmers acted as if the commonage was their land – they would tell us that their ancestors used this land. But, it is municipal land, not theirs. There are still some farmers using the commonage. However, we continue placing pressure on the municipality to provide

us with information on commonage still being used by commercial farmers, because our small-scale farmers need more land. More land will help us to grow, because we have the potential. (Elizabeth)

Since establishing their small-scale farming project on commonage land in 2013, Alpha Small Farmers today run a bustling livestock farming project, which includes pigs and cows. Following years of exploring viable farming initiatives, they decided on livestock farming, as they had previous experience in this regard, and because there were adequate pastures for the cows on the commonage. Their project received financial support from both the Department of Agriculture and the SCLC, with which they acquired much-needed farming equipment.

To finally have access to, and use land for their farming initiatives is not easy, yet it does fulfil her passion, explains Elizabeth:

It is nice to be a small-scale farmer. It is also good to be able to do what you love. It can be frustrating sometimes though, because it takes a lot to make a profit. But it is good, it provides pleasure. And we learned to seek advice from other small farmers who have years of farming experience. Finances remain the big thing, because we as small-scale farmers do not have any other work. We need more land, so that we can grow. The other day we had to sell four cows, because we were running out of land… But we have our victories. Today we can negotiate with the municipality; we received machinery from Agriculture, and we rotate its use amongst the members. Also, our members are motivated, we share techniques and resources, and we can see victories amongst us. (Elizabeth)

HAF's partnership with the SCLC also exposed the small farmers in the forum, in accessing other forms of support to not only further their farming, but in their continued struggle for more land. The small-scale farming project holds the potential for growth, if more commonage can be acquired. Commonage is available in Heidelberg, but continues to be utilised by some commercial farmers in the area.

We work well with the SCLC. Our small-scale farmers received a lot of help from them. Not in the form of money, to be precise, but, in terms of being able to present them with your needs for the farming, and often they would see how they could help us. They have also provided us with training, especially the women. They have also arranged for us to visit other projects, to see their progress, and to exchange ideas and resources with each other. (Elizabeth)

BAVIAANSKLOOF LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM FORUM - WILLOWMORE

The Baviaanskloof Land and Agrarian Reform Forum (BLARF) was formed in 2009 by small-scale farmers in the Baviaanskloof area. The SCLC has worked with this Forum since 2009, focusing on organising small farmers, providing support and capacity-building to its members.

In Willowmore, a central town in this region, four small farmers shared their experiences of belonging to the Forum, and the role it has played in their own small farming projects. Freek Stols is a member of the WAFS, a small farming project that consists of vegetable farming and a herb garden. He explains why BLARF was formed:

We as small-scale farmers came together to establish an association that can represent small farmers in the Baviaanskloof, and to assist with regard to their challenges and their need for funding. Currently we are 17 groups, and each group has a representative on the structure. We are in various areas, such as Heilbron, Steytlerville, Baviaanskloof and so on. (Freek Stols)

John Rank from the Willowmore Backyard Garden Producers explains that through BLARF, members are addressing the crucial issue of landlessness, that affected not only the small farmers, but also the broader community in Baviaanskloof:

You see, this is what happened during the 1990s. We had the situation where in our neighbourhoods there were Transnet people who had lost tenure rights, we had farm workers who had problems here on the farms. We submitted land claims, before the closing date. What we had in general here in Willowmore, were landless people, we had the backyard gardeners, and we had small-scale farmers looking for land, but we were getting nowhere.

You see, everything is about land. So, we asked ourselves: why don't we establish an umbrella body that can speak with one voice? And then the SCLC began working to organise us, and since 2008, all these sectors connected to land have now settled in one voice, and this is where BLARF originated, with these objectives. (John)

The SCLC played a big role in organising the small-scale farmers in Baviaanskloof during that time. Until then, the small-scale farmers were farming individually, and often struggled to negotiate with the municipality to access commonage, or other resources such as water, to aid in their farming projects. Johan from the Willowmore Nursery, explains that as a result, the small farmers became organised and had a forum that could represent their interests, both as a collective, and in their individual projects:

The SCLC brought the small-scale farmers together. They came to us and said, people, let us meet and talk about this thing that we should organise ourselves as a small farmer group. The SCLC was the ideal organisation to come to us, and to teach us how to take hands within the small-scale farming business, and within our own projects. They motivated us to persevere.

It opened doors for us, especially with the municipality. Today we are 75% of members, for example, that will go and speak to the municipality with one voice. The municipality also began to understand us better, and started

listening to us, because before, what the municipality did was to play us off against each other. But since BLARF is here, we speak with one voice. (Johan)

The members of BLARF strive to promote organic farming methods, and have benefitted from the permaculture training the SCLC provided to its members. Oom Freek says that they make it their objective to also tell the community about the benefits of organic produce:

The SCLC is the one that kept us together, and motivated us to continue with organic farming. As you will know, people say that organic farming is more expensive, but we are not struggling. The vegetables we are selling to our community is organic, it is healthy. We also tell the community that it is organic. (Freek Stols)

Mervin Maartin, a pig farmer on a smallholding outside Willowmore, says that, following the training from the SCLC, he began implementing it on his farm and it was only to the project's benefit:

As individual farmer, I have been on the commonage since 2005, when I started farming with my own pigs. The commonage consists of one hectare land. Around 2011 I got to know the SCLC when I went to their permaculture training. Because of this training we established a vegetable garden, and this really helps us with the pigs. All the leaves and unused vegetables go towards feeding for the pigs. Our small farm has grown, because now, once we are done taking care of the pigs, we go over to the vegetable garden. (Mervin Maartin)

BLARF also participates in broader SCLC events, where small farmers from various regions are brought together to collaborate, discuss strategic needs facing small farmers, and connecting them with resource people such as various government departments. This workshop left a big impression on Johan:

We came together in Joubertina. Small farmers from as far as the Northern Cape were there, and the Department of Water Affairs, even schools with gardens. There we got more information about what we can do, who we can approach for help, and how to get in touch with the departments. We got advice about commonage, boreholes, and other stuff. We, as small farmers, also exchanged seeds and ideas. It was a great success by the SCLC to bring us small farmers together, so that we can grow. (Johan)

Through their membership to BLARF, Oom Freek and his fellow gardeners recently accessed commonage from the municipality. Their community gardens are well-established, and instead of transferring it to the commonage, the gardeners are fundraising for additional resources that will enable them to expand the project onto the newly acquired land.

Our vision for the future is: we do not want to stay on the commonage, we want our own farms. We should at least be able to leave something behind for our children, after our sweat and tears over the years. (Jacoba from the Nursery)

We only use organic farming. Our motto is, if you belong to the group, you must contribute to the group. The SCLC now provides us with a stipend, which helps us with paying the water bill, and to keep going during the tough months. We did get some support from Agriculture, but honestly, I can tell you that everything we have today, we have the SCLC to thank for. (Freek Stols)

Baviaans Land and Agrarian Reform Forum (BLARF)

KOUKAMMA[8] PLAASWERKERSKOMITEE

The Koukamma district is home to numerous fruit farms that produce for both the local and international markets. In 2009 farmworkers on these farms formed a Farm Workers Committee through which they sought to address the labour and housing rights of farm workers in the area. The Committee came about after workers became concerned about not only working conditions on these farms, but also the failure of the dominant trade unions to adequately address these labour issues on their behalf.

Basil van Wyk, one of the founder members of the Committee, approached the SCLC for assistance, firstly to provide farm workers with training around their labour and tenure rights. Jessica Plaatjies, another founder member explains how this process unfolded:

Uncle Basil brought the SCLC to the Langkloof. Awareness around rights was the entry point. Before this process started, farm workers were not very outspoken on the farms. See, we had just moved over from the apartheid years, and then we had to approach things slowly and strategically. Before the training, we could step in here and there where there were disputes. But when we became aware of our rights, we became focused on the implementation of the laws on our farms. When the SCLC came into the Langkloof, through their training, our people became more empowered. (Jessica Plaatjies)

Martin Koranna, the current chairperson of the Committee, says that this awareness about their rights led them to talk about, and then later, form the Koukamma Farm Workers Committee:

When we realised what our rights were, we began to stand up for our rights. And that is the reason why we established the Committee. We wanted to motivate farm workers, and provide them with more training. There were a few reluctant people, but those of us who were not, stood up, and began to make this thing work. The SCLC's workshops also made us strong, and reminded us of our rights. And with this knowledge about our rights, we realised that we do not need to join a union, because we now know how to defend ourselves within the workplace. And we grew from place to place, and that is how we formed the committee. (Martin Koranna)

The Committee prioritised the recruitment of members from all the farms in the Langkloof, and representatives from each of these areas serve on the management structure of the committee. Martin feels that the SCLC's training and support was crucial in helping the Committee get off the ground. One of their key tasks during the early days of the Committee was to find out the exact state of affairs on farms in the Langkloof. In partnership with the SCLC, the farm workers on the committee went and did research on the various farms. Jessica explains:

8 'Koukamma' derives from the Khoekhoe words 't'kau' or '-kou' or '/gao-b' = buffalo, and '//gami' or '-kamma' = river. Hence 'Buffalo River'

The Committee did this research with the SCLC around the conditions on farms. We took a closer look at the conditions under which workers live on the farms and we discovered critical situations, so much so that we formed a little newspaper, and this really stirred the farmers. They were not happy about it, but learnt their lesson. Because they know what the laws expect of them, but were not serious about complying with these laws. But through this committee, they did not have a choice, we knew that the media are important, and that farmers who export don't like bad media coverage. (Jessica Plaatjies)

Hanwil Hoffman, a general worker and member of the Committee, explains how they did the research:

We really stepped on the farmers' toes, that time when we stopped some farmers' exports. We went from farm to farm to do research: how far is the water from the workers' houses, is there electricity, do they have access to toilets, such things. We found toilets on farms that no one would want to sit on; we took photos of the conditions in workers' houses, and all those things we sent overseas. And when the farmers heard that they could not export, they reacted immediately. They fixed everything! See, there the farmers became a bit scared, because now they could see what us 'small people' can do with 'big people'. These farmers think that, because they have the money, they are the big ones, but we showed them. (Hanwil Hoffman)

The research findings of the Committee, in partnership with the SCLC, was shared with TESCO, the international supermarket chain, and led to this company freezing imports from these farms until conditions were improved. Martin says that today, living conditions on these farms have improved immensely:

The houses workers are staying in today, look much better. Where before, people had to go to the bush, they now have a bath and toilet in their house. Wages were also adjusted. I think if we did not raise these demands, people would have remained in those poor conditions with low wages. (Martin Koranna)

Since those early days, the Committee has grown from strength to strength. Key activities include that of representing workers in labour disputes on farms, holding awareness-raising activities in towns through pamphleteering, door-to-door campaigns, community meetings, and ongoing recruitment of members. Slowly but surely the Committee is also establishing positive working relationships with farmers in the area.

Jessica, who, after serving as chairperson of the regional structure of the Committee, today is a local councillor in Louterwater, will never forget what it took for the workers to establish the Committee:

It was not always easy to influence or get the farmers on board to understand our situation. But through this all, we stayed strong. We did not give up, we managed to keep focus, knowing where we were going, knowing what we wanted, saying to one another that we are not going to stop fighting for our rights. Often, we gave up a day's wages to go and attend the SCLC workshops, that is how important it was to us. These are some of the sacrifices made by the committee. Even this did not stop the committee, they kept saying that the struggle continues. (Jessica Plaatjies)

Today, the Committee covers all the areas in the Langkloof, and has established local and regional structures in the region. One of their long-term plans is to remain independent, and to represent themselves, instead of relying on trade unions that come in from outside without adequately representing them. The Committee would like to establish an office from which members can work, and where workers know they can come to, to report cases and seek representation.

I am so glad that we are where we are today, and not still back in the past. Because it takes guts to do this work: when we fight for workers' rights, we stand a chance of losing our job, unless you step away from the Committee to keep your job. But we are standing firm; if I lose my job, at least I know one thing: I must move the rock out of the road, so that the next person can move ahead. (Martin Koranna)

Koukamma Farm Workers

CHAPTER 8

THE ESSENCE OF SCLC

And the way forward

From the SCAR to the SCLC the organisation remained, and remains, grounded in the struggles of rural women and men. Throughout the 30-year journey the SCLC has been aware of the importance of 'walking the talk', constantly reflecting on transformation, on challenging unequal power relations, on women's empowerment and on new ways or organising and how these are reflected within the life of the organisation.

The open, constructive, participatory and calm manner in which the SCLC participated in the evaluation is reflective of a powerful organisational culture. There is no disjuncture between theory and practice with regard to the organisational culture and manner in which it conducts itself within communities, its praxis. (SCLC Evaluation, 2015)

The SCLC has always strived to be a learning organisation, openly learning from people whom they accompany, from the context and from partners and allies. The SCLC is receptive to change and to adapting in order to best fulfil their objective within the current context.

SCLC staff are inherently activists. Many staff members were recruited from the communities with whom the SCLC works, bringing a deep understanding of the issues and conditions which confront people and challenge agrarian transformation. The SCLC's values include listening and being led by the people whom the organisation serves. The organisation is aware of the power which comes with access to resources, staff are sensitive and respectful in their relationships with rural women and men. This attitude of solidarity is fundamental to the SCLC. Among civil society networks and strategic partners, the SCLC has always been recognised as being grounded in grassroots struggles, remaining true to the belief that it is only organisations of the poor and working class which will bring about transformation.

The SCLC's devotion to democratic participation and radical pluralism manifests in its internal relations and processes, all the way through to the Board.

It is revealed in the quality of exchange, the warmth of relationships, the kindness and respect shown to one another, appreciation for work, and the unique contributions brought by individuals to that work. It is also shown in the various meeting spaces and fora that enable a broad-based participation by all staff in the important matters of the SCLC.

The SCLC is a learning organisation and functions effectively in a 'messy situation'. It is messy because the context is volatile, unpredictable, oppressive, and at times repressive when the poor and marginalised express their voice. It is painful and hopeful when the various organisational formations that the SCLC accompanies assert their rights to be people treated with dignity, respect and care. In this messy situation there is a constant. The stability of the constant in the SCLC is its evolving praxis and political orientation towards agrarian transformation. (SCLC Evaluations, 2012 and 2015)

The 2016 - 2018 SCLC strategic plan builds on the lessons and gains of the past and is formulated around three fresh programmes: the Environmental Justice Programme, the Forestry and Farmworker Programme and the Food Sovereignty Programme.

The SCLC continues to grapple with the balance between transformation and rights-based struggles that impact on people's everyday lives. The organisation recognises that small victories are important along the path towards emancipation and transformation. The intensive community level work is needed both in terms of emerging replicable

models and in terms of strengthening voice. At the same time the SCLC accompanies and stands in solidarity with people in their mobilisation struggles towards a better world for themselves.

A FRESH START
Policies and Strategies

Land reform needs to make a fresh start, on the basis of a clear vision of how it can contribute to addressing structural inequality and poverty. However, land and agrarian reform by itself is unlikely to reduce the poverty of most of the rural population. The core issue of national politics should be how to create jobs and non-farm livelihood opportunities for the majority of the population in both urban and rural areas. But a re-invigorated and well-targeted programme of land reform, together with the creation of new smallholder irrigation schemes, could help create perhaps a million new jobs, as the National Development Plan suggests.

Structural realities to be taken account of include the concentration of agricultural production in the hands of a small, productive core of capitalist farming enterprises, which are serviced by and supply a few large agribusiness companies. In 2002 only 5 370 farming enterprises (or 12% of the total of 45 800 farming units) contributed around 62% of total turnover. Today the proportion of value produced by the top 20 percent of farming enterprises is likely to be even higher – perhaps 80%. Concentration has been driven by integration into global markets, increased competition, economies of both scale and scope, and specialisation.

In communal areas, over 2 million households engage in some form of agricultural production, producing crops as a main or extra source of food. A minority of small-scale black farmers, numbering from 200 000 to 500 000, sell farm produce to markets as a main or extra source of income. Most supply informal markets, often via sales to bakkie traders. These 'loose value chains' are poorly documented and largely ignored by policymakers. A much smaller number of black farmers, 5 000 to 10 000 at most, supply formal markets. A significant number of coloured farmers also fall into this category but statistics are unavailable.

The increasingly concentrated agricultural economy has shaken out a large number of white farmers who in the past have depended heavily on state support. However, many relatively unproductive farmers remain on the land, and their farms constitute a key resource for land redistribution. This land could be acquired relatively easily and cheaply. The top 20% of producers, around 7 000 highly capitalised farming operations, could then be left alone for two decades or so, ensuring that land and agrarian reform does not put urban food security and agricultural exports at risk. They could also be required to lend practical support to land reform beneficiaries.

The recipients of the land of the other 80% of farming units should be drawn from the ranks of those black smallholder farmers who already produce crops and livestock for sale. Policies should aim to support a process of 'accumulation from below', in which access to more land and water, plus well-designed support programmes, provides a platform for increasing levels of output from labour-intensive enterprises. A key spatial focus for smallholder-oriented land reform should also be peri-urban zones, located close to urban informal food markets. Subdivision of large farms must be promoted, but keeping in mind ecosystems like the Great Karoo.

Securing tenure rights should remain a key objective of land reform, in urban as well as rural areas, and focus on legal

recognition of 'social tenures' rather than on private titling. Given on-going attempts at state capture by elements of large capital, and the sobering example of the corruption and abuse associated with mining operations in communal areas, measures to protect the poor from post-apartheid processes of land dispossession are now urgent. Land and agrarian reform must thus include an oversight of rights-based approaches and support for such struggles, and NGOs and community-based organisations have a key role to play in these.

Section 25(5) of the Constitution has not been given adequate legal expression to date, and this gap needs to be filled by a strong law that gives teeth to the requirement that the state 'take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis'. Defining 'equitable access' in such a way that it precludes elite capture will be critically important in drafting such legislation.

In a context of deepening poverty and where life on farms and forests is often characterised by day to day survival, it is remarkable that the SCLC's work remains underpinned by agrarian transformation, while pursuing a rights-based agenda. This is where the SCLC's value lies. Groups initially start off being heavily dependant on the SCLC but with technical support from the SCLC they become less reliant on aspects such as capacity building and more reliant on accompanment and then eventually most reliant on SCLC solidarity (Baseline Study, 2016).

I think there are several things we need to consider: the one, that this conscientisation, and new forms of organising need to be intensified. but also, intensified in the sense that, today's youth: they all think quite rightly that they need resources, so their focus is how to get resources.

But I think that as the SCLC we should learn from the past, and continue to start from where people are, instead of coming in as a civil society, and imposing programmes in communities that we think are OK, because those things are not sustainable. I think learning should be the key for us for the next years as the SCLC.

We also need to document the history for younger people who are coming into the organisation, as a learning tool, to inform the present and the future. We should document this to ensure that this kind of approach continues, and not falling into the trap of doing things. I think we need to take into consideration for people to be where they are and how that process can go on; changing approaches through continuous conscientising, but it should not be our entry point, that we only work with 'mense wat organised is'. People are organising in their own way, that's what we need to know, about different strategies to organise, and embracing new forms of organising.

What we did over the years, excellently, I think, was to follow people, but we cannot only follow people now: we need to bring in our experiences - how to enhance the freedom of people, and take that forward. We must also acknowledge that this is our struggle and our role is really to enhance what they are doing. But I also think that this narrow focus on only land - we keep saying in the SCLC that we need to start thinking more about rural development, we need to start linking up the farm worker struggles to the struggle of vulnerable workers, landless people in the smaller towns as a way of bringing in that kind of mass democratic approach. Farm workers on their own cannot continue like this. They are part of communities and communities know that without farm workers there is no food. So, I think, this is what we need as an organisation, to inform the next 20 years of our approach. (Phumelelo Booysen)

The SCLC has walked the path of solidarity with some communities over a protracted period of time. True solidarity requires the necessity to work tirelessly and continually with people at grassroots level. (SCLC Midterm Review, 2014)

THERE IS NO PLACE LIKE PEOPLE
Dispossessed South Africans negotiating space and place

Given the extent and severity of the frustration and ordeal that black South Africans have been subjected to, it is no surprise that observers, researchers and the government (however ineffectually) have paid extensive and protracted attention to their plight. Other dispossessed South Africans however, face similar, and in some cases even more exorable, dilemmas. Descendants of the early Khoekhoe for example, only relatively recently began to mobilise and resort to activist measures - they seek acknowledgement and, like their fellow South Africans, restitution of (at least some) of their historical land. (See ' "Khoisan", "San", "Bushmen" and "Khoekhoe" - The Terms and the People', Chapter 6)

After all, on 17th May 1656 already, just four years after Jan van Riebeeck set foot on the shores of Table Bay, the first land dispossession in South Africa took place. The Dutch, instructed by Van Riebeeck, dispossessed Khoekhoe agricultural land along the banks of the Liesbeek River where the suburbs of Observatory, Mowbray and Rondebosch are today i.e. thus centuries before the first black South Africans came to these parts. The Khoekhoe responded with retaliatory stock raids but the process was due to continue inexorably from the Cape up the west and along the east coast, and into the interior, also into the domain of the Bushmen/San.

The crux of the matter is however, not a disingenuous 'first-come-first-served' land claim principle, but a people/community-centred approach. All the dispossessed South African constituencies should be embraced because they are faced with the same dilemmas. Most of the problems confronting them have been brought to the fore: lack of political will, legislative shortcomings, inadequate financial provision etc., etc. (See: LAND REFORM POLICIES - POST-APARTHEID, Chapter 2; TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF LAND REFORM - WHAT IMPACT?, Chapter 3; LAND REFORM - frustration and failure, Chapter 6). The emphasis has however not always been on the affected people in the first place, but on technical and procedural matters.

Intensive involvement with people and communities themselves has always been part of the SCLC's DNA and this is why the axiom 'There is no place like people' is invoked here. An appropriate illustration of the reasoning being developed here revolves around the Restitution of Lands Act (No 22 of 1994) and peoples' more conventional perceptions of space and place. When required to put their case according to the process and claim form as provided for by the Act, the claimants did so as 'communities' and such communities were identifiable by means of conventional criteria or definitions (which is what the legislation had in mind) or, as is not infrequently the case, they may be self-identified or self-constructed or even fabricated.

Furthermore, where the claim form requires reasons for the claim, 'Other evidence to substantiate your Claim' and 'Any other information you would like to bring to the Commission's attention' a pattern emerges.

There would also be reference to a place where they watered their cattle, where they ploughed, obtained wood for construction or firewood, where the traditional healers gathered medicinal plants or to what was regarded as a spiritual domain. The intangible often featured much more strongly than the tangible.

When the legislative requirements are considered *vis a vis* the information supplied by the claimants, not only discrepant perceptions of land or place come to the fore, but conceptions with regard to identifying and delineating land are also at variance. The claimants often come from a tradition of perceiving and utilising land communally, and the strong emotional and symbolic value they attach to place sits more comfortably with a more imprecisely or subtly

defined space as their domain. Thus the pre-colonial conceptions of boundaries by communities cannot directly be brought into correspondence with the colonial/western calibrations of surveyed, demarcated and mapped land.

The biggest challenge for such communities remains to 'translate' and present their perceptions and conceptions into the 'language' and understandings of those who have to assess the merits of their case. People turn their landscape into culturescapes and ethnoscapes, and landscape should then be defined as a sociocultural process.

For those communities with, in many respects legitimate grounds for lodging a claim, it is a matter of endeavouring to comply satisfactorily with the technicalities of the process. Where difference by 'ethnic group' was previously legislated and demarcated in South Africa, the new constitution now enshrines individual rights, equality and common citizenship, yet land restitution encourages affirmation, reinvention or construction of group or community identity when lodging a land claim. This should perhaps also be projected against Chapter 2(31) of the Bill of Rights in the constitution, which does make allowance for 'Cultural, religious and linguistic communities' and their right to form such communities.

Ironically thus, the legislation promulgated by the post-apartheid governing party and government in South Africa is inclined toward technical specifications which could disqualify a legitimate claim, as these are phrased in an idiom incongruent with the claimants' paradigm. When the matter of a land claim is addressed it is more a question of complying with specifications and contractual requirements than with sensitivity to orality and oral conventions. Though not a legal argument, for the claimants it is often simply a question of identifying with the land. The 'understanding' of landscape, of space and place, the relationship with the land, the genius and romanticising of the past, the knowledge systems of landscape, and narratives about the 'construction of place', do not feature effectively in the considerations and reckoning of claims to land. (De Jongh, 2008)

CONCLUSION

Resolving land questions means addressing the intertwined oppression of race, gender and class, and land reform should aim to address all three dimensions simultaneously. This is because class relations are universal, but not exclusive 'determinations' of social practices in capitalism. Changes in class and gender relations should thus be present at the core of redistributive programmes that address racial inequality, or we risk changing only the pigmentation of the dominant elite.

Similarly, narrowly conceived attempts to reduce gendered inequalities could benefit middle and upper class women only. A narrow form of class-oriented reform could benefit men at the expense of women. But realism demands that inequities of class be seen as the core of the problem. Over the last year South Africa has experienced a scourge of cases of gender based violence and child abuse in all spheres of society. Women and children of all races, backgrounds and religions are falling victim to abuse and femicide. In all areas there is an increase in assault and murder incidents of women and children. The disturbing pattern is that the response cannot continue to ignore the root cause of gender based violence and reported cases cannot merely be dismissed due to victimization and intimidation of victims and/or witnesses. The SCLC will continue to support programmes that address women challenges in order to create gender equality and gender justice.

Pressures from below that challenge processes of elite capture are likely to grow stronger over time, and demands for large-scale investment by both the state and capital in employment-generating sectors, including agriculture, will surely increase. One danger is that a simplistic form of populism will assert itself, emphasizing the racial (and perhaps gendered) aspects of land and not taking adequate account of the underlying class dynamics. Land reform policies that seek to alter class relations, accompanied by measures to address gender and racial inequalities, must contribute to addressing the structural underpinnings of inequality and poverty in South Africa today.

The unresolved 'land question' is a festering wound on South Africa's body politic, generating a variety of morbid symptoms. These include calls for 'radical economic transformation' from an increasingly moribund ANC (intent on preventing further losses of levels of political support and regaining ground lost to the Economic Freedom Fighters); push-back against land reform by powerful vested interests in the business sector; and a largely vacuous call to 'give us back the land' by the #FeesMustFall student movement and the newly vociferous 'Black First, Land First' lobby. But land questions are inherently complex, and simplistic analyses and the slogans they give rise to are decidedly unhelpful. The call for Expropriation of Land without Compensation in the name of public interest has been enshrined in the constitution, but the political will is lacking.

At the same time, it is clear that 25 years of post-apartheid land reform have failed to alter the racial distribution of land to a significant degree, or to lift many rural people out of poverty. The wound is a real one, even if political symptoms disguise rather than reveal the causes, and few remedies likely to heal the patient are on offer. Recent policy shifts are either fake medicines or fig leaves that try to cover the rot, despite their radical rhetoric. There is still a common trend of policymakers to continue to exclude those whom the policy has impact on. The SCLC will continue to expose those processes in order to have policies that address people's needs.

There is an increase in informal settlements and the insecurity of tenure that this brings along. The SCLC thus focuses on working with communities who are facing ongoing threats of eviction and the impact it has on women and children given the social challenges that are experienced.

The SCLC will continue to support workers to work in healthy work environments, experience fair labour practices and realize human and constitutional rights.

The SCLC currently focuses on labour, tenure and the human rights of farm and forestry workers and dwellers; access to land and resources for small-scale/subsistence farmers/ producers and support and solidarity for communities resisting land developments which threaten their homes, livelihoods, health and heritage.

Community Advice Offices have a vital importance to ensure citizens in smaller rural towns and communities enjoy their hard fought democracy and freedom. SCLC and CAOs will continue working closely to strengthen access to justice for vulnerable people.

Having, for more than 30 years, functioned and facilitated at the 'people-level', the SCLC has made a significant, often drastic, difference in the lives of previously disempowered, voiceless South Africans.

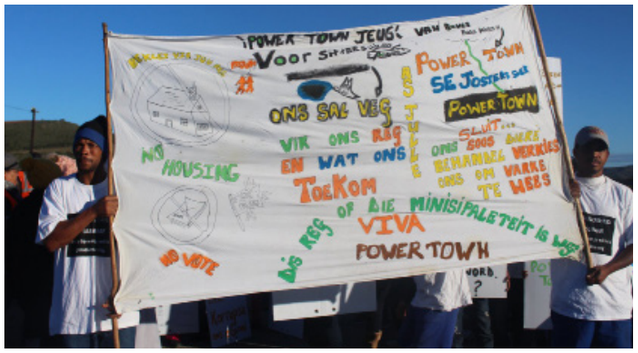
The SCLC has 'walked the talk' and consistently challenged the prevailing power relations, regardless of the current political dispensation. A participatory strategy has enabled the SCLC to 'listen and learn' from the context and the communities where they became committed. The result has been a praxis that is both sensitive and transformative.

"What you do makes a difference and you have to decide what kind of difference you want to make" Jane Goodall.

I think the main objective of the liberation movements and the masses were to fight towards a democratic ideal; where people`s voices were heard and respected, however what we got instead was a society where decisions where centralised and placed on party allegiance more than active participation of the masses in determining their own destiny. This kind of society contributed to what we see today in terms of dependency, and conflict in our communities for more resources, which leads to passiveness in communities where they outsourced their activism to party politics - where the state must do this, the state must do that. Gone are the days when communities mobilized themselves. And I think it contributed a lot to people tolerating it over the years and we see this continuing, people still thinking that the state must do this, and do that - while still waiting for outcomes..... rather to critically look at the state policies, and to see how the state policies affect them negatively. And it is going to take years to get people out of that box of expectations that this is not the kind of freedom we wanted, free this, free that.... And this is what we have been doing and this is what we will continue to do. (Phumelelo Booysen)

There is no conclusion to the SCLC story. It is ongoing, alive and real. Until there is real transformation in terms of race, class and gender and until agrarian transformation and food sovereignty are realities the SCLC shall remain relevant.

The journey continues.



These photos are a representation of the current work that the SCLC has done with communities.

CRIME
FRACKING? NO! URANIUM? NO!
Not in Our Karoo. Not Anywhere.
LEAVE IT IN THE GROUND!
KEEP IT IN THE GROUND

LOS UIT ONS LAND!
RETURN WHAT'S OURS
KAPITALIS GEE TERUG ONS LAND

GRONDLOOSHEID
= RASSISME

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LEAVE IT IN THE GROUND!

THEMBALETHU FARMERS ASSOCIATION

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